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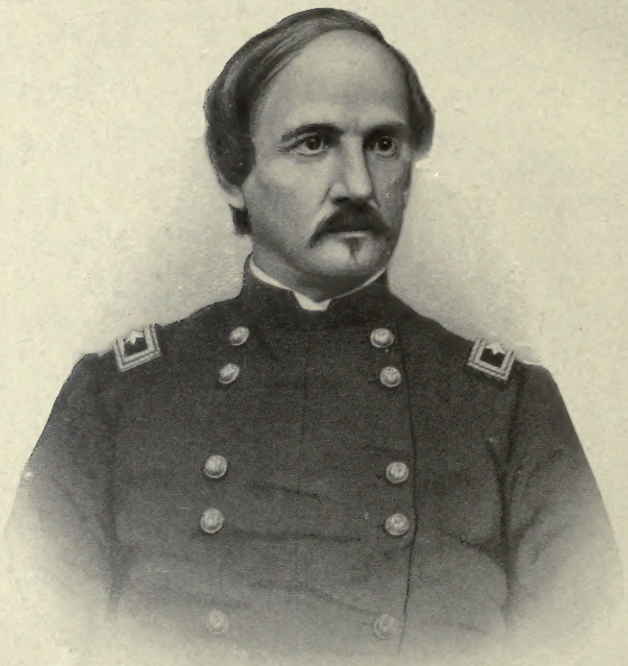

H. H. Sibley

MINNESOTA
IN
THREE CENTURIES

BY

LUCIUS F. HUBBARD RETURN I. HOLCOMBE

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PREFACE

This volume of Minnesota in Three Centuries, covers the period of the State's history from its admission as the thirty-second member of the Federal Union, until after the close of the Civil War. Minnesota's part in the War of Rebellion has been told by General Lucius F. Hubbard, who took an active part in many of the engagements, that brought forth the preservation of a free and united country. Return I. Holcombe amongst other chapters has contributed the story of the Sioux Outbreak, which devasted the frontiers of the State and in which murder and rapine reigned supreme. These two events constitute an interesting epoch of the State's history.

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Chapter I.

CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTIONS.

IT was on December 24, 1856, when Henry M. Rice, then Delegate from the Territory of Minnesota, introduced a bill in the House of Representatives to authorize the people of the Territory to form a constitutional and State government with a view to the admission of a new State into the Union. There could not have been a more inauspicious time for the introduction of the bill. Congress was at this time in the midst of the sectional conflict engendered by the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854; therefore the proposition to admit into the Union another State from the Territory defined by the Ordinance of 1787, from which more than the maximum number of States named in the Ordinance had already been organized, met with strenuous opposition from the Representatives of the Southern States, for the reason that it would help to destroy the equilibrium in Congress, particularly in the Senate, between the opponents and advocates of slavery.

The bill was referred to the Committee on Territories, of which Galusha A. Grow, of Pennsylvania, was chairman. A substitute, different from the original bill in two particulars, was reported to the House by Mr. Grow, January 31, 1857. The substitute fixed the boundaries of the State as they now exist, while Mr. Rice's bill named the Big Sioux River as the western boundary of the southern half of the State. This would have embraced a large part—estimated at about six hundred square miles—of what is now Eastern South Dakota. Minnesota, also by the substitute, was given concurrent jurisdiction over the

Mississippi River and all other water forming a common boundary between herself and other present or future States of the Union, to be used as common highways free to citizens of the United States.

The bill was presented to the House with little comment and led to no lengthy debate. John S. Phelps of Missouri, a friend of the bill, to twit Mr. Grow, who was a firm believer in the sacredness and inviolability of the Ordinance of 1787, called attention to the fact that more than five States had already been formed from the Northwest Territory; that the act creating the Territory of Minnesota included territory of which Mr. Grow's substitute deprived it, and that it was a violation of the Ordinance to incorporate a part of the Territory into a new State. He thought it inconsistent that this provision of the Ordinance should be violated, while the article prohibiting slavery should be so strenuously insisted upon. Mr. Grow could not see how the incorporation into the new State of a little "gore of land" left outside of the five organized States could be a violation of the Ordinance. Mr. Garnett, of Virginia, made an unsuccessful attempt to lay the bill on the table. Mr. Boyce, of South Carolina, could see no objection to the admission of Minnesota in case her population was sufficient. Mr. Grow assured the gentlemen that, from trustworthy estimates, the population was between 175,000 and 200,000 inhabitants. He then immediately forced a vote under the "whip and spur of the previous question," and the bill was passed by a vote of ninety-seven to seventy-five. An analysis of the vote shows that seven Americans, thirty-eight Republicans, twenty-nine Democrats, and twenty-three Whigs voted for the bill, while twenty-four Americans, four Republicans, twenty-eight Democrats, eighteen Whigs, and one Unionist were opposed to it.

Eighty-five of the ninety-seven votes cast in favor of the bill came from the North, and forty-eight of the seventy-five votes in opposition came from the South. The members of the "National American" or "Know Nothing" party, as well as many of the Southern members, were opposed to the bill, on account of the alien suffrage feature, which provided that aliens,

who had voted at Territorial elections, could exercise the right of suffrage, on an equality with citizens of the United States, and vote for the delegates to the State constitutional convention.

The bill passed the House, went to the Senate February 2, 1857, and was referred to the Committee on Territories, of which Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois, was chairman. The bill was reported back by the Committee on February 18, and came up for consideration on the twenty-first. Mr. Douglas, always the friend of Minnesota, explained the provisions of the bill. Immediately, Asa Biggs, of North Carolina, offered an amendment, providing that only citizens of the United States be allowed to vote for delegates to the State constitutional convention. This amendment was the occasion of an acrimonious debate, which was protracted into nearly the end of the session.

Mr. Biggs, in support of his amendment, disclaimed being tainted with "Know Nothingism," but contended that in the formation of organic law suffrage should be restricted to citizens of the United States. He cited the inconsistency of allowing aliens to vote in Minnesota and not in Oregon, where suffrage was restricted to citizens of the United States. Mr. Douglas, in reply, showed the absurdity of making a precedent of Oregon, as the bill for the admission of that Territory was still in the hands of the Committee on Territories. He went into the history of the matter, showing that the act organizing the Territory of Minnesota had given the Territorial Legislature the right to fix the qualifications of voters, and suffrage had been extended to those who declared on oath their intention to become citizens of the United States. This had proved satisfactory, and he contended should be left intact, as it would be unjust and a breach of good faith on the part of Congress to exclude any from voting for delegates to the State constitutional convention who had hitherto exercised the rights of suffrage under the laws of the Territory.

Mr. Brodhead, of Pennsylvania, denied the power of Congress to make any but citizens voters, stating that the Constitution provided that Congress should establish a uniform rule of naturalization. This Congress had done, and it would be an infac-

tion of the law of Congress and of the Constitution to permit aliens to vote. Senator Brown, of Mississippi, followed in an able argument against alien suffrage. A State, he held, can confer the election franchise upon whom it pleases; but it is for Congress to say whether or not aliens in a Territory shall vote for delegates to the State constitutional convention. He argued, not for unconstitutionality, but for the inexpediency of allowing aliens to vote. He disclaimed emphatically any sympathy with the Know Nothings, but as a matter of public policy he contended, alien suffrage was dangerous. "There may be," he said, "in this Territory, Norwegians who do not read one word of English * * * what a mockery, and what a trifling with sacred institutions is it to allow such people to go to the polls and vote."

John Bell, of Tennessee, took issue with Mr. Brown and declared the State had not the sole power to fix the qualifications of her voters. This assertion was resented by the exponents of State rights, and Mr. Mason, of Virginia, held that when a State was admitted she had full control over the qualifications of her electors. He, however, stated he was in favor of the amendment. Isaac Toucey, of Connecticut, argued against the amendment. William H. Seward, of New York, maintained that the constitutionality of alien suffrage was settled long ago. He quoted Texas as having been admitted into the Union without having a single citizen of the United States. He argued that the right of suffrage should be co-extensive with the obligation to submit to, support, and defend the government. Mr. Butler, of South Carolina, who had thought that the time had passed for questioning the right of a State to prescribe the qualifications of her electors, was not in favor of the participation of aliens in the organization of a new State.

Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts, in a terse and vigorous speech, pronounced emphatically against alien suffrage, declared the principal of the Biggs amendment to be just, politic, and expedient, but announced that he should vote against it for the reason, as he declared, that, "Minnesota will come into the Union robed in the white garments of freedom; and I can

give no vote that shall put in jeopardy her immediate admission into the sisterhood of the free commonwealths."

Mr. Crittenden, of Kentucky, argued, that it was against the spirit of the Constitution to allow aliens to vote. Clement C. Clay, Jr., of Alabama, called Mr. Seward to task for his statement that suffrage should be co-extensive with the duty of obedience to government. In that case, he argued, the privilege of suffrage should be extended to both sexes, to infants, to blacks, and reds, as well as whites, in short to all races, all ages, and all sexes. Mr. Adams, of Mississippi, denied the constitutional power of Congress, to confer the elective franchise upon aliens in the States. After being thoroughly discussed, the amendment was passed by a vote of twenty-seven to twenty-four. Twenty-three of the affirmative votes were cast by Southern Senators, the remaining four were John R. Thomson (Dem.) of New Jersey, Solomon Foot, (Rep.) of Vermont, Richard Brodhead, Jr., (Dem.) of Pennsylvania, and Hamilton Fish, (Whig.) of New York. Robert Toombs of Georgia, was the only Senator from the South voting in the negative.

The bill was then passed by a vote of forty-seven to one, John B. Thompson, of Kentucky, casting the negative vote. This was by no means satisfactory to the friends of the bill, as it would have to be returned to the House for their consideration, and as the session was to expire in ten days, it was not probable that the bill would be passed. Accordingly John P. Hale, of New Hampshire, at once gave notice that he would in due time move to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed. On February 24, he did so, explaining that his intention was to reach and reconsider the amendment of Mr. Biggs.

Mr. Thompson, of Kentucky, having been the only Senator who voted against the bill, in a lengthy address attempted to define his position. He was against the bill, as he expressed it, "teeth and toenails throughout." Minnesota, he claimed, was brought into the Union prematurely, to satisfy the ambition of politicians. He admitted he did not desire two additional votes in the Senate against what he thought the best interests of the country. He stated, that, like all new States, Minnesota would

be continually asking for public lands for schools; for alternate sections of land for roads; also, she would submit propositions for lighthouses for harbors, and for lake defenses; and the adjacency of the Canada border would necessitate protection. He did not want representatives from Minnesota for their votes, or their power, or what they will do after they get here. After expressing these candid but cynical and narrow views he launched into an eloquent defense of the Supreme Court and ended by upholding the institution of slavery, asserting that a man had as much right to own a negro as he had to own a black horse or a black dog.

Mr. Douglas took occasion to reply to some of the arguments of Mr. Thompson, and was of the opinion, that it was clearly the duty of Congress to admit a State into the Union when that State possessed the qualifications required for such admission. That when a Territory had population enough, according to ratio of representation, to entitle her to one Representative in Congress, she was then entitled to admission. He held, that there was no moral right to vote against the admission of a State because of politics or her institutions. He had voted for the admission of slave States, and denied that any Senator could properly vote against the admission of a free State because the institutions of the North were not acceptable to him. In commenting on the suffrage question he considered the qualifications laid down by the Legislature of the Territory of Minnesota as entirely satisfactory.

Mr. Green, of Missouri, announced his intention of changing his vote. He had voted for the Biggs amendment, but he considered Congress would be doing an injustice in excluding from the privilege of suffrage many who had exercised that right under Territorial laws. Mr. Adams, of Mississippi, insisted, that in excluding aliens from voting for delegates to the State constitutional convention, Congress deprived them of no privilege they had ever possessed.

The motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was carried February 24, by a vote of thirty-five to twenty-one. Mr. Biggs thereupon argued for the principle con-

tained in his amendment. Mr. Brown, Mr. Crittenden and Samuel Houston, of Texas, all spoke a word in favor of the amendment. The Senate was then forced to adjourn for lack of a quorum.

Upon the following day Mr. Douglas pressed the bill upon the attention of the Senate. The vote on the Biggs amendment was reconsidered, there being thirty-one ayes and twenty-one nays for reconsideration.

Mr. Biggs charged that some malign influence had been brought to bear upon the Senate, which, he said, was swayed and controlled by foreign influence, until its deliberations had degenerated into a scramble for alien votes. Mr. Brown held it to be bad policy to allow unnaturalized foreigners to vote, but within the undoubted province of the State to do so. He said, in speaking of the waning influence of the old States: "The two votes of the good old Mother of States and statesmen ought not to be borne down by the votes of two others brought here on such a basis."

The amendment of Mr. Biggs was rejected, the vote for it being twenty-four yeas and thirty-two nays. The bill was then passed, as it came from the House, by a vote of thirty-one to twenty-two; and was signed on the same day, February 25, 1857, by the President pro tempore.

The bill having passed the Senate, to authorize the people of Minnesota to form a constitution, preparatory to their admission into the Union on an equal footing with the original States, Willis A. Gorman, the Territorial Governor at that time, proceeded to call a special session of the Legislature, to take into consideration measures that would give the act efficiency. The extra session convened April 27, 1857, and Governor Gorman's term of office having expired, a message was transmitted to the body by Samuel Medary, who had been appointed his successor. The Legislature adjourned May 23, and in accordance with the enabling act of Congress, the qualified voters were to hold an election July 1, to elect delegates to a constitutional convention to consist of two delegates from each Representative district according to the apportionment for Representatives in the

Territorial Legislature. The enabling act provided that two delegates be chosen for every Representative to the Territorial Legislature. The Minnesota authorities construed the word "Representative" to include "Councilors." This construction made a convention of one hundred eight members—seventy-eight from the Representative district and thirty from the Council districts.

At this time Minnesota, in political sentiment, was nearly equally divided between the Republicans and the Democrats. The settlers that had come into the Territory, especially the southern portion, were largely from the New England and other Northern States, whose people, because of the slavery question, were fast becoming Republicans. At the Presidential election of 1856, Fremont and Dayton, the Republican candidates for President and Vice President, had carried a large majority of these States. The new party, with its safe and sane principles of opposition to the further extension of slavery and to its immediate abolition, was becoming more popular every day.

The election for delegates was held after a very strenuous contest. The canvass had been ardent and exciting, for there was much at stake. The political party that would control the convention would dictate the provisions of its constitution, and in the formation of Congressional and Legislative districts so arrange them that both Senators and Representatives in Congress would be of that party's faith. The political control of Congress might depend upon the new State of Minnesota. The whole country became interested in the election of delegates to Minnesota's constitutional convention. The Republicans sent men and money, almost without stint, into the Territory in aid of their political brethren. Among the speakers they sent were John P. Hale, of New Hampshire, the accomplished and most persuasive orator; the able Lyman Trumbull and the earnest, outspoken abolitionist, Owen Lovejoy, both of Illinois; Galusha A. Grow, of Pennsylvania, a son of thunder on the hustings; Schuyler Colfax, of Indiana; Hanscomb, of Boston; Moran, of Philadelphia, and James H. Baker, of Ohio—all gifted and effective advocates. Judge Trumbull remained in the Territory after the election as chief counsel for the Republicans in the disputed election cases.

The result of the election was not speedily made known. There were no railroads or telegraphs, and the news was brought to St. Paul commonly by a special messenger. Ramsey County had elected the Democratic delegates by an overwhelming majority, and at first it was conceded at the capital that the Democrats had chosen a considerable majority of the delegates throughout the Territory, especially when the result at St. Anthony showed an average majority of thirteen for four Democrats. But June 16, when the board of canvassers of Hennepin County, all of them Republicans, canvassed the vote of St. Anthony, they decided that not four Democrats, but four Republicans, had been elected. Judge Trumbull counseled the action and furnished the arguments, but only the names of C. G. Ames, who was register of deeds, and George A. Nourse, the District Attorney, appeared on the record. The grounds for the action of the returning board were these:

The returns showed that the forms used by the Democrats and Republicans in printing their tickets differed in construction. The names of Democratic candidates were all placed together under the heading: "Delegates to the Constitutional Convention." The Republican tickets had the names of two candidates under the heading, "Delegates from the Council District," and four under the heading "Delegates from the Representative District." The Democrats claimed that as the boundaries of the Representative and Council districts were the same and identical with the entire precinct, the grouping of the names on the tickets was unimportant; but the Republicans denied this contention, and Clerk Ames refused certificates of election to four Democratic candidates, who had received more votes than their Republican opponents, and gave them to their opponents. For this illegal action, as the Democrats characterized it, Clerk Ames was cited to St. Paul by Governor Medary, and, after a hearing, the Governor removed him from office. The Republican Commissioners of Hennepin County promptly re-elected Mr. Ames and announced that they would continue to re-elect him as often as the Governor removed him.

The Republicans who received the certificates were S. W. Putnam, D. M. Hall, D. A. Secombe, Philip Winell, L. C. Walker, and Dr. J. H. Murphy. The Democrats claimed that Winell and Walker were the only Republicans that had been fairly elected and demanded certificates for B. B. Meeker, Charles L. Chase, Calvin A. Tuttle, and William M. Lashelle. On the Minneapolis side of Hennepin County, R. P. Russell, Democrat, received eighteen more votes than Rev. Charles B. Sheldon, and was offered the certificate of election. Mr. Russell was at the time receiver of the land office at Minneapolis, a Federal office, and declined the certificate. Thereupon, a few days after the Republican convention had assembled, it admitted Mr. Sheldon without a certificate.

In Houston County there was another contest. Houston and Mower together comprised one Council district, but Houston had two Representative districts and Mower one. On the general ticket of the Democrats in Houston County, O. W. Streeter received 378 votes, and his Republican competitor received 329 votes on a "Representative's" ticket. The Republican returning board issued the certificate to C. A. Coe, and admitted him to the convention. Mr. Streeter was admitted by the Democrats to their convention. The Democrats also, late in the session (August 11) admitted Thomas H. Armstrong as a delegate from Mower County. The certificate had been given to Robert Lyle, Republican, who, on the face of the returns, had thirty-one majority over Armstrong. The Democrats claimed that the poll books at Austin showed that at least thirty-nine prominent residents of Freeborn County—living outside of the Houston and Mower districts—had voted for Lyle, and that therefore Armstrong had received a majority of eight of the legal votes cast.

The convention was to be called to order at the capitol building, in St. Paul, at twelve o'clock, noon, Monday, July 13, 1857. The Republicans claimed that they feared their opponents might take advantage of them in organizing the convention. Their leaders decided to "take time by the forelock," and issued a call for their party delegates to assemble in the Representative room of the Capitol, on Sunday, July 12, at midnight. The

hours generally devoted to Somnus, passed in chatting, reading newspapers, smoking or snoring, with an occasional glance and examination by a delegate of his revolver, anticipating some necessity for its use. The long hours of the night passed, the morning sun found the delegates representing the Republican party in possession of the hall ready to commence the organization of the convention.

At about 12 o'clock—the Democrats afterwards claiming that it was exactly at that hour and the Republicans asserting that it was at 11:45 A. M.—the Democratic delegates marched into the Representative hall among the Republicans. At the head of the Democratic contingent was the Secretary of the Territory, Charles L. Chase, who ascended the platform of the speaker's desk and said: "As Secretary of the Territory of Minnesota, I call this Convention to order." The sound of the last three words was nearly stifled by the strong voice of John W. North, a Republican delegate, who stood by Chase's side and fairly shouted: "I call this Convention to order and nominate Thomas J. Galbraith for temporary Chairman." Mr. North had been deputed by his Republican confreres, who had signed a paper to that effect, to perform this service, and had accompanied Mr. Chase to the speaker's desk. Following his nomination of Mr. Galbraith, Mr. North said hurriedly: "All in favor of the nomination, say Aye (the Republicans loudly answered) and all opposed, say No—the ayes have it, and Mr. Galbraith will come forward and take the chair."

The Democrats refrained from voting on Mr. North's motion. Those of them with certificates were fewer in number to the Republican members who were so equipped. Bearing certificates of election signed by the register of deeds of Hennepin County were four Republicans from the St. Anthony precinct, whose seats were contested by four Democrats. If the Democrats assented and committed themselves to the Republican organization their four contesting brethren would never be given seats, and the convention would be a Republican affair permanently.

Before Mr. North had announced the vote on his nomination for temporary chairman, Ex-Governor Gorman, the leader

of the Democrats, called out: "I move that the Convention adjourn until 12 o'clock tomorrow." Secretary Chase put the motion and all the Democrats voted aye; a few of the Republicans also so voted, but they afterwards explained that, in the confusion and excitement, they did not know for what they were voting. Secretary Chase declared that the motion to adjourn had been adopted, and thereupon the Democrats filed out of the hall, leaving the Republicans in undisputed possession.

If the Republicans had remained quiet the Democrats would have captured the convention. The enabling act provided that returns of the election for delegates should be made to the Secretary of the Territory, Mr. Chase. From these returns the Secretary had made up a list of delegates, which included the four Democrats from St. Anthony. He assumed the right to call the convention to order and to announce the names of delegates rightfully entitled to seats, because the returns were, by law, to be made to him, and he claimed that he had the right to decide which of these returns were proper and correct. He would have called the roll of delegates by Council districts, declared the St. Anthony Democratic members elected and this would have given that party a majority. The Democrats would then have organized the convention, and controlled it ever afterward.

At 12 o'clock noon of Tuesday, July 14, the Democratic delegates proceeded to the hall of the House of Representatives in the capitol building, pursuant to their adjournment the previous day. At the door of the hall they were met by Territorial Secretary Chase, who said: "Gentlemen, the hall to which the delegates adjourned yesterday is now occupied by a meeting of the citizens of the Territory, who refuse to give possession to the constitutional convention."

Ex-Governor Gorman then moved that the delegates repair to the Council Chamber for organization and deliberation, and the motion carried without opposition. The delegates repaired to the chamber, in the west wing of the capitol building, and were called to order by Secretary Chase. H. H. Sibley was chosen temporary chairman by acclamation. R. F. Houseworth was chosen temporary secretary.

Of the personal history of the members of the Democratic wing it may be said, that there were a number of delegates that had been identified with the early history of the Territory. The First Council District, which comprised the counties of Washington, Itasca, Chisago and the Lake Superior country, of their twelve delegates elected eight Democrats, viz: 1. William Holcombe, the First Lieutenant Governor of the State. 2. James S. Norris, the pioneer farmer. 3. Henry N. Setzer, a native of Montgomery County, Missouri, of German descent, who came to the St. Croix Valley in 1843, and engaged in lumbering, had been a member of the Territorial Legislature, and afterwards was appointed warden of the State Penitentiary. 4. Gold T. Curtis, a native of New York, a graduate of Hamilton College, admitted to the practice of law in 1850, removed to Stillwater four years later; in the Civil War he enlisted in the Fifth Minnesota Infantry, was promoted to a captaincy, but contracted a disease in the army from which he died at St. Louis, July 24, 1862. 5. Newington Gilbert, a native of Onondaga County, New York, who settled in Minnesota in 1851, and was interested in the milling of flour. 6. Charles J. Butler, born in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, who, as a clerk to his father, a paymaster in the United States Army, was connected with the Chihuahua expedition during the Mexican War; he also went to California in the spring of 1849 and engaged in mining; in the fall of 1851 came to Marine Mills, became interested in lumbering, and was afterwards mayor of Stillwater, where he took up a permanent residence in 1856. 7. Reuben H. Sanderson, of Lakeville, a native of New York, who was by trade a carpenter and located in Minneapolis in 1855. 8. Charles G. Leonard.

The Second District, which comprised the precincts of St. Paul and Little Canada, had elected a solid Democratic delegation of twelve, viz: 1. George L. Becker, a prominent attorney; 2. Moses Sherburne, Associate Justice of the Territorial Supreme Court; 3. D. A. J. Baker, a native of Maine, who at St. Paul taught one of the first public schools in the Territory; he came to St. Paul in 1849, and three years later opened

a farm comprising what is now Merriam Park; 4. Lafayette Emmett, who was at the time Attorney General of the Territory and afterwards became the first Chief Justice of the State Supreme Court; 5. William P. Murray, who had been a member of the Council of the Territorial Legislature; 6. Willis A. Gorman, the second Territorial Governor; 7. John S. Prince, a native of Cincinnati, Ohio, a resident of St. Paul after 1854, and mayor of his residential city for several terms; 8. Patrick Nash; 9. William H. Taylor; 10. Paul Faber; 11. William B. McGrorty, and 12. Michael E. Ames, who were afterwards members of the State Legislature.

The Third District, which comprised the precinct of St. Anthony Falls, had the four claimants previously mentioned, viz: Bradley B. Meeker, an ex-Associate Judge of the Territorial Supreme Court; William M. Lashelle; Charles L. Chase, the Territorial Secretary, and Calvin A. Tuttle. The last named was a native of Connecticut, a pioneer in the St. Croix Valley in 1838, where he superintended the building of a mill. He afterwards returned to Alton, Illinois, but in 1846 removed to St. Anthony Falls, and helped to build the first saw mill at that place.

The Fourth District, comprising the counties of Goodhue, Dodge, and Freeborn, was entitled to six delegates, but the only Democrat elected was Edwin C. Stacy.

The Fifth District, consisted of Benton, Cass, Todd, Stearns and Wright Counties, of their eight delegates elected, seven were Democrats, viz: David Gilman, of Watab, a native of Saratoga, New York, a resident of Minnesota since 1848, and who had been a member of the Territorial Legislature; Henry C. Waite, a practicing attorney of St. Cloud; William Sturges, of Little Falls, who had been a member of the Territorial Legislature; William W. Kingsbury, afterwards delegate to Congress; R. H. Barrett, J. C. Shepley, and J. W. Tenvoorde.

The Sixth District comprised Dakota, Scott, and Rice Counties, and was entitled to fourteen delegates; it elected eight Democrats. The delegation was headed by the State's First Governor, Henry H. Sibley. The other members were: Robert

Kennedy, Daniel J. Burns, Frank Warner, William A. Davis, Josiah Burwell, Henry G. Bailly, and Andrew Keegan.

The Seventh District, which consisted of Pembina County, had elected six delegates, viz: James McFetridge, J. P. Wilson, Xavier Cantell, J. Jerome, Louis Vasseur and Joseph Rolette, the last named the former custodian of the State capitol removal bill.

The Eighth District, which comprised Houston, Fillmore, and Mower Counties, of its fourteen delegates elected only one Democrat, whose seat was uncontested and this was James C. Day.

The Tenth District, comprising Le Sueur, Steele, Faribault, Blue Earth, Brown, Nicollet, Sibley, Pierce, and Renville Counties, of their eight delegates elected five were Democrats, viz: The famous pioneer, Joseph R. Brown; Charles E. Flandrau, then living at St. Peter, afterwards a member of the State Supreme Court; Francis Baasen, the first Secretary of State; William B. McMahan, and Joseph H. Swan.

The Eleventh District comprised the west side of the Mississippi River of Hennepin County, Carver and Davis Counties, of its twelve delegates elected there was only one Democrat, Alfred E. Ames, a native of Colchester, Vermont. He located at Springfield, Illinois, in early life and completed his medical studies at Rush Medical College, Chicago; came to St. Anthony Falls in 1851. During the Civil War he served as surgeon at Fort Snelling. He was a member of the Territorial Legislature, and practiced his profession for many years.

The Republican wing organized, and chose St. A. D. Balcombe, of Winona, President; and Lorenzo A. Babcock, a former Attorney General of the Territory and ex-member of the Council, Secretary. The membership consisted mostly of new candidates for political preferment. This was partially due to the party's being of recent origin; also that during the Territorial days the Democrats had been in the supremacy.

The four members from the First District were P. A. Cederstam; William H. C. Folsom, the author of "Fifty Years in the Northwest," a native of St. John's, New Brunswick, who came to St. Croix Valley in 1845, engaged in lumbering, and

died at Taylor's Falls in 1900; Lucas K. Stannard, a member of the Territorial Legislature; Charles F. Lowe, a native of New Hampshire, who came to Sunrise in 1855, and while on a tour in Florida, in 1873, was accidentally drowned.

In the Third District—St. Anthony Falls—Philip Winell's and L. C. Walker's seats were not contested by the Democrats; the latter afterwards became a member of the First State Legislature. The other members of the Republican delegation who were given certificates of election by the Republican register of deeds were Samuel W. Putnam; D. M. Hall; D. A. Secombe (afterwards a member of the State Legislature) and John H. Murphy. The last named was the first medical practitioner at St. Anthony Falls, having made that locality his home in 1849. He was born in New Brunswick, New Jersey; his parents removed to Quincy, Illinois, when he was eighteen years of age, and here he obtained a high school education. He graduated in medicine from the Rush Medical College of Chicago. He had been a member of the Territorial Legislature. During the Civil War he was surgeon of the Fourth and Eighth Minnesota Infantry. After the close of the war he took up his residence at St. Paul.

The Fourth District sent five delegates, one of whom, Charles McClure, of Red Wing, was a Virginian, who studied law and was admitted to practice in 1829. He located at Red Wing in 1856 and opened a law office. He was afterwards State Senator and Judge of the First Judicial District. His colleagues, were Aaron G. Hudson, George Watson, Frank Mantor, and Joseph Peckham.

Frederick Ayer, the pioneer missionary among the Chippewas, was the only Republican delegate from the Fifth District.

The members from the Sixth District were. John W. North, afterwards a member of the Second Legislature; Thomas Bolles; Oscar F. Perkins; Thomas Foster; Thomas J. Galbraith, afterwards State Senator representing Scott County, and United States Indian agent for the Sioux from 1861 to 1863; D. D. Dickinson.

The Eighth District sent as delegate Alanson B. Vaughn; also, Clark W. Thompson, member of the Council in the Terri-

J. P. Meeker

torial Legislature; John A. Anderson; Charles A. Coe; N. P. Colburn, Joseph A. McCann, H. A. Billings, Charles Hanson, H. W. Holley, John Cleghorn, A. H. Butler, Robert Lyle, Boyd Phelps, afterwards member of the First State Legislature. Mr. Lyle's right to a seat was denied by the Democrats.

The Ninth District delegation was solidly Republican, viz: St. A. D. Balcombe, a member of the two last Territorial Councils; William H. Mills, Charles Gerrish, Simlow Harding, Nathan B. Robbins, William J. Duley, Samuel A. Kemp, David L. King, Benjamin C. Baldwin, and Thomas Wilson; the last named was afterwards Chief Justice of the State Supreme Court.

The members of the Tenth District were Amos Coggswell, afterwards State Senator; Lewis McKune, a member of the First State Legislature, and Edwin P. Davis.

The Eleventh District delegation was headed by Cyrus Aldrich, afterwards a member of Congress; the other members were, Wentworth Hayden, R. L. Bartholomew, W. F. Russell, Henry Eschlie, Charles B. Sheldon, David Morgan, E. N. Bates, Albert W. Coombs, T. D. Smith, and B. E. Messer.

The composition of the Democratic wing of the convention was strong in its personal and general character. The best ability and intelligence of the Territory were well represented. Henry H. Sibley, the President, was well fitted by nature and experience for a presiding officer. Of the other members William Holcombe had served in the Wisconsin Constitutional Convention, became the first Lieutenant Governor of the State and gained the title of "father of the normal school system of Minnesota." James S. Norris was the bright, scholarly pioneer wheat raiser. Henry N. Setzer, Gold T. Curtis, H. C. Waite, and George L. Becker, William P. Murray, Michael E. Ames, were good lawyers and men of general talent. There were no abler jurists of their time in the Northwest than Bradley B. Meeker and Moses Sherburne, who had been Associate Justices of the Territorial Supreme Court, nor than Lafayette Emmett, who became Chief Justice of the State Supreme Court; Charles E. Flandrau, who became an Associate Justice of that court, Joseph R. Brown was competent for almost any duty, public or

private. The other delegates were gentlemen of intelligence, high standing in their respective communities, and able to command respect anywhere, with not an inferior character among them. With such men as these for its authors and makers it cannot be a matter of wonder that the Minnesota State constitution was a model of its kind. Such men were competent to make a constitution for a nation.

The Republican branch, in its personal makeup, was also a very able and efficient body. St. A. D. Balcombe, the President, was an accomplished writer and newspaper man, Lucas K. Stannard was a prominent and gifted lawyer, as was the somewhat eccentric D. A. Secombe. Charles McClure gained reputation by his high standing at the bar and his record on the bench. John W. North was also an attorney and business man, and the founder of the town of Northfield. Another good lawyer was Oscar F. Perkins. W. H. C. Folsom had been prominent in the pioneer affair of the Territory, and lived to publish his experiences in a volume which is a valuable contribution to Northwest history. Thomas J. Galbraith was a lawyer and eventually a district judge for many years in Montana. Clark W. Thompson became prominent in the State's affairs and was for some years Indian agent; N. P. Colburn was another attorney who was prominent in his profession. Thomas Wilson had no superior as an all-around lawyer, and became Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and member of Congress. Amos Coggswell was another finely equipped lawyer, a very accomplished and forcible speaker, and a gentleman of high general attainments. Lewis McKune was a gallant character, a fighting patriot, and died at the head of his company on the battle field of Bull Run. Cyrus Aldrich became one of the State's most efficient representatives in Congress.

There was no opposition to Minnesota's becoming a State; the situation was not the same as in old Territorial days; there was no necessity of falsifying population; the Federal Government wished to be relieved of the expense attendant on a territorial form of government. The convention was called to formulate a constitution, which was simply to be modeled on the same

general lines of those adopted by States that had preceded Minnesota into the Union. About one-third of the time occupied by certain delegates of each wing of the convention was devoted to political harangues and oratory, apparently so that posterity should know which was the false and which the legitimate convention.

When the Democratic wing of the convention retired from the Representative hall of the capitol it proceeded to the Territorial Council chamber; the latter room was not sufficiently finished for occupancy, the building being incomplete. The convention met in brief sessions every day, however, until July 22, when the room was completed so that full regular sessions could be held.

At that session Delegate Charles E. Flandrau, of Nicollet County, offered a resolution setting forth that the Democrats had over 1,600 majority in the Territory, as shown by the aggregate vote for delegates; that the action of register of deeds Ames, of Hennepin County, in issuing certificates of election to four Republican delegates, was illegal, and that the body "at the other end of the capitol" was without authority of law and revolutionary in character. A copy of these resolutions was directed to be transmitted to the President and members of his cabinet. After being debated for five days they were finally adopted. The members of the Democratic wing, having thus, by their own declarations and to their own entire satisfaction, established their legitimacy, proceeded to elect permanent officers. Henry H. Sibley was chosen President and Jacob J. Noah, afterwards the first clerk of the State Supreme Court, Secretary.

The two conventions met daily. Their proceedings were uniformly orderly, dignified, and most interesting. Various important measures, far reaching and influential in their character and nature, were proposed in each convention and some of them adopted.

The division of the State by an east and west line along the forty-sixth parallel of latitude, and extending westward to the Missouri River, was advocated in the Republican convention by three of the very ablest members—Coggswell, McClure, and Wilson—and received fifteen votes. In the Democratic convention

the same proposition was championed by Judge Flandrau and received six votes. It was understood that the proposition was, among other things, in the interest of the town of St. Peter in its efforts to secure the capital of the new State.

The proposition to allow negroes to vote was voted down in the Republican convention by a vote of thirty-four against seventeen in favor. Those voting for negro suffrage were: Delegates Baldwin, Bates, Cleghorn, Colburn, Davis, Gerrish, Hayden, Holley, Mantor, Messer, North, Phelps, Perkins, Putnam, Peckham, Secombe, and Sheldon. Among those who both spoke and voted against the proposition were Delegates Aldrich, Coggswell, Foster, Folsom, Galbraith, McKune, McClure, Stannard, Thompson, and Wilson, the ablest members of the convention. It was finally agreed to put the proposition in the "schedule" and allow the people to vote upon it as a separate proposition from the main constitution. The Democratic article on the suffrage denied the right of negroes to vote.

In a few weeks after the rival conventions assembled, the better judgment, sound sense, and devotion to the interests of the people among the members generally asserted themselves. Private conferences were held between certain of the leaders of the factions. Joseph R. Brown circulated a written agreement which he sought to have signed by the delegates of both conventions. This agreement was in effect that every proposition adopted by either convention should be adopted by the other; in other words that both constitutions should be identically the same in wording, so that no matter which of them the people ratified and adopted, the effect would be the same.

The people of the Territory at large began to take up the matter of the strife between the two factions. They characterized their conduct in not agreeing to one convention and one constitution as "boys' play or worse." Some of the newspapers said that both conventions should at once agree or adjourn and let new delegates, "who will have some sense," be elected. Other papers, however, backed up the hostility of their respective factions.

At last Brown, Gorman, Sherburne, Sibley, and the other Democratic leaders conferred with Balcombe, Aldrich, Coggswell,

Galbraith, McClure, and other leading Republicans and agreed upon a plan of compromise. Pursuant to the details of the preliminary features of this plan, on the eighth of August a preamble and resolution were introduced into the Democratic convention by Judge Moses Sherburne. The resolution provided that a committee of five be appointed by President Sibley to confer with a similar committee from the Republican convention to be composed of "duly elected members" (meaning those whose seats were not contested) and the two committees were "to consider and agree upon, if practicable, and report some plan by which the two bodies can unite upon a single constitution to be submitted to the people." The same day the same preamble and resolutions were introduced into the Republican convention by Mr. Galbraith, and unanimously adopted without debate.

In the Democratic convention, however, the offer of the olive branch was rejected and the Sherburne resolution was indefinitely postponed by a vote of twenty-three in favor of indefinite postponement to nineteen opposed, with thirteen members not voting. The Democrats were unrelenting and vindictive in their hostility toward the Republicans, and at first spurned indignantly all offers of compromise. They claimed that six of the members of the Republican convention held their seats "by most malignant frauds," and, therefore, that the Republican convention had no legal existence, and was entitled to no respectful consideration or notice whatever. They debated the Sherburne resolution only to denounce it. Gorman, Meeker, Setzer, Baker, Streeter, and others were hotly against it. Sherburne, Brown, Warner, and A. E. Ames were all that spoke in its favor.

The Democrats were recognized by the Territorial authorities and received their pay—$3.00 per day—regularly and also received mileage, while their expenses for stationery, light, etc., were paid out of the public treasury. On the other hand the Republicans could not get a cent, either for their services or their expenses, from the authorities. They paid their own personal expenses, and to some of them this was quite inconvenient. But the advocates of peace and compromise were not discouraged by the Democratic reception of the tentative offer for harmony.

The Republicans had already taken authoritative action, and President Balcombe had promptly appointed a conference committee, composed of Messrs. Galbraith, McClure, Stannard, Aldrich, and Wilson. On the eleventh they sent a communication to Sibley notifying him of their action. The Democrats were in better humor on this occasion, and on motion of Joseph R. Brown the communication was referred to a select Committee composed of Brown, Gorman, Setzer, Holcombe, and Kingsbury.

On the fourteenth the Democratic committee reported the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted by the Democrats:

> **Resolved, That this constitutional convention cannot receive any communication from any body of men assuming to be the constitutional convention of this Territory by which the legal character of this convention can be called in question.**

The report went on to say, however, that the Democrats were ready at any time to meet a caucus committee of the Republicans and deliberate upon a plan "for the welfare of our future State," etc. The Republicans declined this proposition.

On the eighteenth of August the Republicans adopted a resolution for the appointment of a committee of five—Galbraith, McClure, Aldrich, Stannard, and Wilson—to confer with a similar committee of Democrats, the two committees to agree upon the report, if practicable, "Some plan by which the two bodies can unite upon a single constitution to be submitted to the people." This resolution was sent over to the Democratic convention and that body, on motion of A. E. Ames, authorized the appointment of a committee of five to meet the Republicans. President Sibley appointed Gorman, Brown, Holcombe, Sherburne, and Kingsbury. Seven Democrats, still unrelenting in their hostility to what they termed "the usurping body at the other end of this building," voted against the Ames resolution. These were Baker, Barrett, Day, Setzer, Taylor, Tenvoorde, and Waite. Fifteen members did not vote at all. After the resolution had been adopted Messrs. D. A. J. Baker, of St. Paul, and Henry N. Setzer, of Stillwater, announced that they would take no further part in the deliberations of the convention, and so withdrew, but in a few days Mr. Setzer was induced to return.

The two committees labored industriously, unselfishly and patriotically for nearly two weeks in endeavors to agree upon a single constitution. The joint committee, during its deliberations, was presided over by Judge Sherburne, of the Democrats, and the secretary was Lucas K. Stannard, of the Republicans. At last, on the twenty-eighth of August, Judge Sherburne announced to the Democratic convention that the joint committee had agreed substantially upon the entire draft of a single constitution. On the same day Mr. Galbraith, from the conference committee, made a similar announcement in the Republican convention. The committee had formulated a paper containing the announcement, which was as follows:

> The committee of conference, appointed by the two conventions to agree upon a single constitution to be submitted to the people, respectfully submit the report which is annexed. The committee also further report that, in their opinion, they will be able to submit a final report at 10 o'clock this day. (Signed) Moses Sherburne, Chairman; L. K. Stannard, Secretary; Joseph R. Brown, W. Holcombe, W. W. Kingsbury, Thos J. Galbraith, Cyrus Aldrich, Charles McClure.

Neither Gorman nor Wilson, the principals in the hostile encounter of two days previously, signed the report. By the advice of their friends they had not attended the meetings of the committee after the altercation.

After many days of earnest effort and labor in an endeavor to unite upon a single constitution, the joint committee finally agreed unanimously—no Republican dissenting—to accept the Democratic draft of the proposed constitution, with the division call the "Schedule" as it had been adopted by the Republicans. In thus agreeing the Republicans made some sacrifices for patriotism and for the public interest and general welfare of Minnesota. They had secured the adoption of certain amendments to and changes in the Democratic draft, but these changes were practically merely verbal; they were of slight partisan advantage, although perhaps in the arranging of the first legislative and judicial districts certain of those districts were made Republican. The new constitution denied negro suffrage; so did the Republican version, but the latter provided that the suffrage qualifications might be extended, a provision which was dear to the

Republicans but which was surrendered in the interest of compromise.

That the constitution was considered to be in the main, a Democratic production is shown by the opinions of those who agreed to it. In each convention there were members who opposed the constitution as it had been finally agreed upon. Certain Democrats objected to it because the "usurping and fraudulent body at the other end of this building," as they characterized the Republican convention, had been permitted to have a part in its making. To these unreconcilable spirits, who complained that the new version contained some changes from the original drafts, Judge Sherburne said:

> There is no change of importance. We have sometimes stricken out one word and put in another, for the purpose of compromising, but I undertake to say that no vital principle of Democracy—no one which a Democrat who looks to principle alone would consider as more than a cipher—has been sacrificed. Our friends on the other side—and I give them credit for it—have adopted our articles almost altogether. It was magnanimous in them, and I do not say this tauntingly. I repeat, sir, that there is nothing in this report which need frighten any member of this convention.[1]

Mr. Setzer was furious in his denunciation of certain features, which he claimed would give the "Black Republicans," as he called them, the first State Legislature with two United States Senators. "If the report of this convention is adopted, then farewell, Democracy in Minnesota," said Mr. Setzer. Judges Meeker, Sherburne, and Flandrau spoke strongly in favor of the adoption of the Committee's report—which meant the adoption of the constitution—and at last, in the evening of August 28, the Democrats adopted the report, without amendment, by a vote of thirty-eight to thirteen. Those voting against the report—and against the constitution—were Baasen, Cantell, Jerome, Murray, McFetridge, Rolette, Setzer, Shepley, Sturges, Taylor, Terwoorde, Vasseur, and Waite. Four delegates did not vote.

In the Republican convention there was opposition to the report, and that opposition was ardent and earnest. Coggswell

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[1]See Official Report of the Debates in the Democratic Convention, p. 599.

led it. He spoke forcibly and eloquently against the adoption by Republicans of what he characterized as "a Democratic document pure and simple," which was the product of "a bastard convention." Then he went on to declare:

> I say, sir, if there had not been one single Republican in this convention, the Democrats could not have got up a more Anti-Republican constitution than this which is recommended by the committee. No Democratic constitution could be more Anti-Republican than this very same constitution.[1]

McClure, Galbraith, Foster, and Secombe were the leading advocates for adoption. Wilson said he did not like the constitution, but would vote for it; other members expressed similar sentiments. Late in the evening of August 28, the Republicans adopted the Conference Committee's report by a vote of forty-two to eight—nine members not voting. Those voting against the report were Billings, Coggswell, Davis, Gerrish, Hanson, Holley, McKune, and Robbins.

Then the momentous question arose; to which convention should be accorded the honor of signing officially the document? Who was to acknowledge the paternity of this double-headed convention? Which was the legally constituted convention? This stumbling block was fortunately easy of solution. Joseph R. Brown, one of the members of the Conference Committee, suggested, that two constitutions be drawn up, which were to be exact duplicates in all respects, including orthography, punctuation, etc., that officers and members of the Democratic convention should sign one of these duplicates while the other should be signed by the officers and members of the Republican convention. This was agreed to by both conventions, and the two constitutions were filed in the archives of the Territory. All the members of the Republican convention signed the version of the sacred document before them, but three Democrats—D. A. J. Baker, William H. Taylor and Charles G. Leonard—refused to sign, and their signatures are still lacking.

There were, during the time of holding the convention, many wordy combats between the members of the opposing bodies, but

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[1]Republican Cons. Conv. Debates, p. 572.

there was but one instance that assumed a belligerent character. This occurred August 26, at a session of the joint Conference Committee. Thomas Wilson, Republican, made the statement, that there were some men, whom he hoped would understand him, in whom he had no confidence personally or politically, and he wanted to choose his own associates. Mr. Wilson further emphasized his remarks by saying, "I do not apply that language to Judge Sherburne." This brought the query from Mr. Kingsbury, whether or not Mr. Wilson intended that language for him. Mr. Wilson promptly answered, "No, sir," but said there were others on the committee whom he did apply it to. This brought an inquiry from Mr. Gorman if the offensive language was intended for him. To this Mr. Wilson replied: "I certainly do apply it to you." No sooner was the answer delivered than Mr. Gorman raised and struck Mr. Wilson with the small end of his gold headed cane, breaking it. The contestants were promptly separated and while Mr. Gorman was being held by two persons, Mr. Wilson seized a large lead-headed cane and approached his assailant with vindictiveness. Mr. Gorman then said, "Don't hold me until he strikes me with that cane." Shortly afterwards Mr. Gorman passed out of the room unmolested.

In the Republican convention next day, Mr. Wilson made a lengthy personal explanation of the affair. While he construed the offensive remark in other words it practically meant the same. That his assailant, instead of being held by any persons, was slinking away in the corner of the room and with the cry of, "Don't let him strike me with that cane," immediately left the room. A resolution was offered in the Republican wing declaring that that convention would not confer with the Democrats until Gorman was removed from the committee, but it was not passed. The members of the Democratic convention subscribed one dollar each to purchase another gold headed cane for Governor Gorman, which bore the following inscription: "Presented to Willis A. Gorman by the Democratic members of the constitutional convention for valuable services rendered the party."

The Territorial Legislature had appropriated $30,000 and a per diem of $3 a day had been fixed as the pay of the delegates. The Democratic Treasurer of the Territory refused to pay the Republicans, but the Democrats were paid regularly. The Republican delegates were subsequently paid, though no record appears showing just how that conclusion was reached. State Auditor Dunbar, in his report to the Legislature of 1860, stated that the total cost was $59,803.07, and that this included the publication of the proceedings of the two wings of the convention.

For the purpose of the first election, the State was to constitute one Congressional district and elect three members to the House of Representatives of the United States; also the State was divided into twenty-six districts entitled to elect thirty-seven Senators, and eighty Representatives. The second Tuesday, the thirteenth day, of October, 1857, was decided as the first general State election day when the constitution was to be voted upon. At this election every free white male who had resided in the State ten days, previous to the day of election, and had complied with the Territorial qualifications for franchise, was entitled to vote. Certified copies of the poll books were to be forwarded to the Secretary of the Territory, and returns for the officers elected at large were to be canvassed by the Governor of the Territory, assistd by Joseph R. Brown and Thomas J. Galbraith. The people, on the date specified, ratified the constitution by a vote of 36,240 in favor to 700 against, according to the precinct returns.

Folsom, in his "Fifty Years in the Northwest," says:

> The two constitutions were filed in the archives of the State, and one of them—which one will probably never be known—was adopted by the people. The question arises in the writer's mind as to the legality of the constitution of Minnesota. Have we a constitution? If so, which one? The question of legality, however, has never been raised before proper tribunals, and it is perhaps well to leave it thus unquestioned.

In the face of the evidence this statement, although made by a member of one of the conventions that framed the constitution, is clearly unwarranted. The mere fact that the constitution was duplicated and signed by the members of the two wings of

the constitutional convention, cannot be any argument against its validity. The copies were exactly alike in phraseology, and were exact duplicates in every respect, except the signatures of the members of the two conventions. Moreover if one hundrd and twelve verbatim copies (the number of members in both conventions) had been made and signed individually by each member, it would not have detracted from the validity of the constitution as a whole. The ratification of the instrument by the people and its approval by the Congress of the United States is undisputed evidence of its legality, and so well has it fulfilled its purpose that every effort to constitute a new one has been vetoed by the people.

As time passed the political sentiment of certain of the members of the rival conventions underwent a change. There were new issues and fresh occasions, which to them, warranted their action. Of the Democratic convention some of its members —in all probability, although their names and the circumstances are not known so that they can be given here—became Republicans. Of the Republican convention three of its leading members, Amos Coggswell, Thomas J. Galbraith, and Thomas Wilson, became ardent Democrats and prominent in the councils and affairs of their former political enemies.

Chapter II.

ADMISSION OF THE STATE.

STATE ELECTION OF 1857.

THE transition of Minnesota from Territorial dependence, to become the thirty-second member of the Federal Union, occurred in 1858, at a time of adverse conditions in the United States. The great commercial cities of the country were suffering from financial embarrassment occasioned by the panic of 1857, which caused a stringency in the money markets, and seriously cramped all enterprises and endeavors that relied upon the aid of borrowed capital for developing the resources of the State.

The election for the first State officials took place October 13, 1857. The candidate for Governor on the Democratic ticket was Henry H. Sibley; the Republicans nominated Alexander Ramsey. The campaign was exciting and close, and the Democratic ticket was declared elected, although it was believed by some of the Republicans that Sibley was not elected, but counted in. The State being at that time but partially settled, with no railroads or telegraph lines, it took weeks to collect the returns and determine the result. It was not until December 18, that the board designated by the constitution met to officially canvass the votes. The canvassing board was composed of Governor Samuel Medary and Joseph R. Brown, Democrats, and Thomas J. Galbraith, Republican.

A resolution was adopted by the board that the duly canvassed and certified returns from the several counties be adopted, as the basis of the calculation of the board of canvassers.

The adoption of the resolution threw out 4,058 votes, of which 1,930 were for Sibley, and 2,128 for Ramsey. The official canvass made 35,340 votes cast of which Sibley had 17,790 and Ramsey 17,550, a majority of 240 for Sibley. The Cass and Pembina districts, where Joe Rolette, the trader at Pembina, a strong Sibley partisan, and where the voters were all employes of the fur company, went unanimously for Sibley, Pembina giving him 316, and Cass 228 votes. Judge Flandrau held that these Indian votes were fraudulent. These were the only counties where there were not some votes for Ramsey. The State officers elected on the ticket with Governor Sibley were all Democrats, as follows: William Holcombe, Lieutenant Governor; Francis Baasen, Secretary of State; George W. Armstrong, Treasurer; W. F. Dunbar, Auditor; and Charles H. Berry, Attorney General.

William Holcombe was born at Lambertville, New Jersey, July 22, 1804. He was of English Quaker descent, his direct ancestor having come to America with William Penn in 1700, landing at Philadelphia with other members of the Society of Friends. He purchased a tract of land near where our subject was born. William, on arriving at the age of eighteen, removed to Utica, New York, and seven years later came to Ohio, locating first at Columbus, and afterwards at Cincinnati. True to the traits of his forefathers, to locate upon the frontiers, Holcombe emigrated to the West; in 1835 we find him at St. Louis, a place of 10,000 people at that time. Here he became a member of a firm that made an investment in a steamboat, which was called the Olive Branch, and of which Holcombe was made captain. His first trip was from St. Louis to Galena, Illinois. In 1836 he made the latter city his place of residence. Still seeking the frontier, in 1839 he settled in the St. Croix Valley, and became a resident, in 1846, of Stillwater. Here with others he commenced the development of the lumbering industries in that locality, being connected with the St. Croix Falls Lumbering Company.

Governor Holcombe was also engaged in steamboating and other commercial pursuits. He was in 1846 a member of the

WILLIAM HOLCOMBE.

first constitutional convention of Wisconsin; there gained the reputation of being a sound political economist, and a thoroughly radical Democrat. He was the author of the "Holcombe amendment" which proposed to establish the western boundary of Wisconsin much farther to the eastward than at present. He was secretary of the first convention held for organizing the Territory of Minnesota; for four years was receiver of the land office at Stillwater; a member of the Democratic wing of the constitutional convention, and elected first Lieutenant Governor of the new State.

After his retirement from the latter office, he became an active and most efficient member of the State Normal Board and filled other public offices. He was a prominent member of the Presbyterian Church, and filled the position of president of the Minnesota Bible Society also the State Sabbath School Association. His death occurred from apoplexy on September 5, 1870; he was at that time mayor of Stillwater.

At the first congressional election, three members of Congress were elected. The Democratic candidates were William W. Phelps, who received 18,218 votes, James M. Cavanaugh, who had 18,064, and George L. Becker for whom 18,019 votes were cast. The vote for the Republican candidates was as follows: Henry A. Swift, 16,937; Cyrus Aldrich, 16,995, and Morton S. Wilkinson, 16,938.

Congress decided that Minnesota was entitled to only two Representatives. An agreement having been arrived at that a drawing should take place between the three candidates elected, George L. Becker became the unlucky contestant, and Phelps and Cavanaugh were seated.

We append a short sketch of Minnesota's first Representatives in the House of Representatives of the National Congress.

William W. Phelps, of Red Wing, was born in Oakland County, Michigan, June 1, 1826. He graduated from the University of Michigan in 1846; two years later he commenced the practice of law, and also became engaged in newspaper work. After his Congressional term, he became editor of the Red Wing *Sentinel*. He served as Captain of Company D, Tenth Minnesota

Infantry, commanded by General James H. Baker, during the entire Indian campaign under General Sibley. He died at Red Wing in 1873.

James M, Cavanaugh was born in Springfield, Massachusetts, July 4, 1823. He was engaged in newspaper work, studied and practiced law. He settled in Minnesota in 1854, but removed to Colorado in 1861 and engaged in mining. He was a member of the first constitutional convention of that State. In 1866 he removed to Montana, represented that Territory as delegate in the Fortieth and Forty-first Congresses.

FIRST STATE LEGISLATURE.

The First State Legislature assembled December 2, 1857. At this time Minnesota had not been admitted to the Union; therefore the State officials elected could not take their oath of office or perform their duties.

The Senate organized and chose Richard G. Murphy, of Scott County, President. The Republicans, who were in the minority in the Senate, having seventeen of the thirty-seven members, had elected to that body several former members of the constitutional convention, viz.: Erastus N. Bates, Aaron G. Hudson, Boyd Phelps, George Watson, Lewis L. McKune, and W. H. C. Folsom. Winona County was represented by Daniel S. Norton, afterwards United States Senator, and the witty and oratorical attorney, S. S. Beman. Jonathan Chase and Delano T. Smith, of Hennepin County, had been members of the last Territorial House of Representatives.

Among the Democrats were Isaac Van Etten, of St. Paul, a native of Orange County, New York. He was admitted to the bar in 1851 and came at once to Minnesota. He had been Adjutant General of the Territory, also a member of the Council. Charles S. Cave, of St. Paul, a member of the House of the Third, and Sixth Territorial Legislatures. He afterwards was postmaster of St. Paul, subsequently removed to Missouri. William Sprigg Hall, of St. Paul, a native of Anne Arundel County, Maryland. He was educated at St. John's College in that

State. Studied law and was admitted to practice in 1854, coming to St. Paul in October of that year. In 1856, he was appointed superintendent of the common schools of Minnesota. He was afterwards, in 1867, elected Judge of the Court of Common Pleas and re-elected in 1874; his health, however, became impaired, and to recover it he took a European trip, but died on a railroad car on his way home from the East, February 25, 1875. Henry G. Bailly, of Dakota County, was a member of the Seventh and Eighth Territorial Councils. John R. Jones, of Fillmore County, was born in Champaign County, Ohio. He located in Chatfield as a young lawyer. In 1862 he enlisted as a private in the Second Minnesota Cavalry and was mustered out in 1865 with the rank of Major. After the war he built up a very extensive law practice and died at Chatfield, June 26, 1900. James C. Day, of Houston County, and Joseph Rolette, of Pembina County, were members of the constitutional convention. Reuben M. Richardson, of Benton County, had been a member of the House of the Fifth Territorial Legislature.

Anson Northup, the Senator from the Twenty-first District, which comprised the counties of Morrison, Crow Wing, and Mille Lacs, was a typical pioneer of the Northwest. He was born in Cattaraugus County, New York. He lived in Ohio some years, and in 1839, he drove the first herd of cattle through the wilderness from Wisconsin River to the St. Croix. Two years later he removed his family from Ohio to the St. Croix Valley. The first white child born at St. Croix Falls, was his eldest son, Charles H. In the spring of 1844, he removed to Stillwater where he built and kept the first hotel in that place. In 1849 he removed to St. Paul and built the American Hotel, on Third street, east of the Seven Corners. In 1851 he removed to St. Anthony Falls and built there the St. Charles Hotel and in 1853 he built the Bushnell Hotel, the first brick building in Minneapolis. He took a creditable part in the Indian War of 1862. Subsequently he became a resident of Long Prairie, Swan River and Duluth and engaged in lumbering and steamboating. In his later life he became a resident of Dakota Territory, and his final earthly home was in St. Paul, where he died.

The House of Representatives organized and elected John S. Watrous, Speaker. The Washington County delegation consisted of James R. M. Gaskill, a physician, of Marine Mills; Robert Simpson, of Stillwater, an Englishman, engaged in lumbering and merchandising, and George W. Campbell, of Point Douglas, a native of Canton, New York, a resident of Minnesota since 1848, engaged in farming and lumbering.

In the Ramsey County delegation were James Starkey, born in England. He came to America in 1849, located in St. Paul the following year. At the first city election he was the unsuccessful Democratic candidate for police justice. The next year he was defeated by Alexander Ramsey for the office of mayor. In the spring of 1857 he was elected Captain of the Saint Paul Light Cavalry, one of the first two volunteer militia companies organized in the State. He was commander in the same year of the Sunrise Expedition, sent against some troublesome Chippewas. Captain Starkey took part in the Civil War, and was the first to survey a road through the country lying between St. Paul and Lake Superior. George L. Otis, afterwards mayor of St. Paul, and Democratic candidate for Governor; William B. McGrorty, a well known public official of St. Paul, who was accidentally drowned in the Mississippi River at La Crosse, Wisconsin, in 1865. John W. Crosby, afterwards Chief of Police of St. Paul, who died in Virginia in 1865.

Joseph Peckham, of Goodhue County, and L. C. Walker of Hennepin County, had been members of the Republican wing of the constitutional convention. Samuel Lord, of Olmsted County; N. S. Tefft, of Wabasha County; James B. Wakefield, of Faribault County, and Henry Poehler were afterwards to become prominent in the political affairs of the State. St. A. D. Balcombe, President of the Republican wing of the constitutional convention, was one of the members from Winona County. He afterwards removed to Omaha, Nebraska, and became an editor of a newspaper in that city. One of the Representatives from the Blue Earth and Le Sueur District, was Reuben Butters, a native of Maine, who came to Minnesota in 1851, and was the first prominent settler in the Minnesota Valley above Shakopee. He

made the first claim at Le Sueur, having a station at that place, and at Kasota. He was engaged chiefly in farming; also had a stone quarry and a store at Kasota. He afterwards represented his district in several sessions of the Legislature.

The Legislature, in joint session, received Governor Medary's message. He called the attention of the Legislature, to the extensive land grants of Congress to aid in the construction of railroads; and recommended that prompt measures should be taken to establish and fix the western boundary line of the State. A thorough organization of the militia system was essential to maintain the peace, dignity, and authority of the State. On account of the change from the Territorial to a State government, he recommended a complete revision and codification of the laws. He urged the purity of the ballot box, the right of suffrage being too sacred an element in our system of government to be abused, or misused. He closes his address with a monetary discussion of the financial panics that had disturbed the country for the past half century.

The Republican members of the Legislature, being in the minority, protested against any legislation until after the admission of the State into the Union; but the Democratic members, while they admitted the Governor and other State officials could not qualify before the admission of the State, claimed that the Legislature did not rest under the same disability, because they derived their power from the constitution itself, and therefore had been directed to meet on the date specified. This requirement authorized them to act. They declared that Samuel Medary was *de facto* and *de jure* Governor of Minnesota, until his successor could qualify on the admission of the State. That acts of the First Legislature would be legalized when the State was admitted. In spite of the protest of the Republican members, some important and extravagant measures were proposed and passed, among them the famous $5,000,000 loan bill authorizing the issue of bonds to that amount, ostensibly to aid in the construction of railroads in Minnesota and to be used as a basis for banking. This was an amendment to the constitution, and though it was opposed at the time it came before the people for

its ratification, by prominent members of both parties, it was adopted by a vote of 25,023 to 6,733.

Among the other acts of the Legislature were the following: $250,000 was authorized for a loan for the current expenses of the State; the killing of a deer or elk between February 1 and September 1 was punishable by a fine of $15; or a grouse, prairie chicken, partridge, or quail between February 15 and July 15, five dollars. The State Agricultural College was established. Another act provided for the transferring of the records of the late Territorial courts to the State courts. The counties of Douglas, Kandiyohi, Morrison, Otter Tail, and Todd were organized. Becker and Kanabec Counties were established. The organization of Becker was perfected in 1871 and Kanabec in 1881. The election for United States Senators was to be held December 19, 1857, and thereafter on the first Tuesday of January next before the expiration of the time for which any Senator or Senators were elected; and within ten days after a quorum of both houses shall assemble at the next meeting of the Legislature.

On the date specified above the Legislature in joint convention elected Henry M. Rice and James Shields the first United States Senators from Minnesota. The vote was as follows; Henry M. Rice, 66; David Cooper, 50; James Shields, 61; Henry D. Huff, 54; Alexander Ramsey, 1. The Legislature, becoming weary of doing business on an uncertainty, voted to adjourn March 25, until June 2.

A sketch of David Cooper, one of the candidates for Senatorial honors, has already appeared in this work.

But little is known of Henry D. Huff; he had no prominence in the political life of the Territory before his candidacy for United States Senator. He settled on Wabasha Prairie, June 26, 1853, and was one of the original owners of the town plat of Winona. Previous to his coming to Minnesota, he had been engaged in mercantile business, and also operated in real estate at Kenosha, Wisconsin; previous to this he was connected with the pioneer life of Illinois. It was through his efforts that Fillmore County was divided, and Winona County organized. He gave the name to the town and the county, which was substi-

tuted for that of Montezuma. He started the second newspaper in Winona, which he named the Winona *Express*, and built a hotel which he called the Huff House. He removed to Chicago in 1873.

Of the successful Democratic candidates, a sketch of Henry M. Rice appears elsewhere in this work. James Shields, the cosmopolite military and political character, was born at Dungannon, Tyrone County, Ireland, in 1810. He emigrated to the United States in 1826, studied law, and commenced the practice of his profession in Kaskaskia, Illinois, in 1832. He was a man of fine personal presence, and possessed a rich, sonorous voice, which he knew how to use to good advantage. His manners were pleasing and cultivated, and there was an attraction about him which made it an easy matter for him to become a leader in anything in which he took part. Much of his success in life resulted from this gift. In 1836 he was elected to the Illinois Legislature and there made the acquaintance of Stephen A. Douglas, Abraham Lincoln and others. In 1839 he was elected State Auditor of Illinois, was appointed in 1843 a Judge of the Supreme Court of that State, and in 1845 Commissioner of the United States general land office. At the breaking out of the war with Mexico, he was appointed Brigadier General by President Polk, and was assigned to the command of the Illinois Volunteers. He served under General Taylor on the Rio Grande, under General Wool at Chihuahua, and under General Scott at the capture of the City of Mexico. At the Battle of Cerro Gordo he was dangerously wounded, at Chapultepec severely wounded, and in recognition of his services he was brevetted Major General. In 1848 he was appointed Governor of Oregon Territory, which office he resigned to accept that of United States Senator from Illinois. He served until 1855, and shortly afterwards took up his residence in Minnesota and was elected United States Senator for the term of two years. He then removed to California where he remained a short time. In 1861 he was commissioned a Brigadier General and joined the right wing of the Army of the Potomac at Winchester. At Kernstown in March, 1862, he defeated the renowned Stonewall Jackson,

being the only Union General to attain that distinction; at Port Republic he was in turn defeated by that General. He resigned his commission in 1863 and settled in Wisconsin, but soon afterwards removed to Carrollton, Missouri, where he resumed the practice of his profession and served as a railroad commissioner. In 1874 he was a member of the Missouri Legislature, and in January, 1879, he was elected by that body to serve out the unexpired term (six weeks) of the deceased United States Senator Bogy. After the expiration of his term as Senator, he remained in retirement with the exception of an occasional address or lecture to assemblages of private citizens. He died at Ottumwa, Iowa, June 1, 1879. The State of Illinois in 1893 placed a statue of General Shields in the Statuary Hall of the National Capitol.

Minnesota, by the delay of Congress in voting on her admission to the Union, presented a dilemma, but she was adequate to the emergency. The State Legislature passed the laws which were duly signed by Charles L. Chase as acting Governor. He also certified them as Secretary. Practically the State had three Governors, Samuel Medary, President Buchanan's appointee, who for some reason, according to the record, never signed a Territorial law. Henry H. Sibley, duly elected by the people, and Charles L. Chase, acting Governor and Secretary of the Territory.

MINNESOTA IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE.

We have alluded to the dilatory action of Congress. It was on January 11, 1858, that President Buchanan notified Congress, that he had received from Governor Samuel Medary a copy of the constitution for the proposed State of Minnesota certified in due form. On motion of Senator Douglas the whole matter was referred to the Committee on Territories. The bill for admission was reported to the Senate, and on January 28, Senator Douglas urged its consideration. This was opposed by Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, who was upheld by the Vice-President. Again, on February 1, Mr. Douglas tried to call up

the bill, but Senator Gwin, of California, insisted on the consideration of the Pacific railroad bill, which he had in charge. Mr. Douglas urged in justice to the Senators elect from Minnesota, who were waiting to be admitted to their seats, that the bill should be acted on at once. His position was supported by Senators Crittenden and Seward, but Mr. Gwin, aided by the Southern Senators, demanded consideration of his railroad measure.

Kansas was seeking admission at this time under the Lecompton (or slavery) constitution, and many of the Southern Senators were in favor of taking up the Minnesota and Kansas bills together. Mr. Mason, of Virginia, wanted to wait and see the attitude of the Northern Senators on the Kansas matter, as it might be necessary for the "Southern States to determine where they stand in the Union." Mr. Wilson, of Massachusetts, in reply stated that he and others would oppose in every way the admission of Kansas under what he termed the Lecompton swindle. Mr. Bayard, of Delaware, opposed the immediate consideration of the Minnesota bill. Mr. Brown, of Mississippi, insisted that Kansas and Minnesota should stand or fall together. He further said: "If you admit Minnesota and exclude Kansas, standing on the same principle; the spirit of our revolutionary fathers is utterly extinct if this Government can last for one short twelve month." Mr. Crittenden thought the admission of Minnesota a mere formal proceeding, and considered it an injustice to delay the admission of the State, simply because there was a controversy about Kansas. The contest for precedence between Minnesota and Pacific railroad bills was sharply waged and the time of adjournment put an end to the debate, both measures being postponed.

Senator Crittenden, of Kentucky, on Tuesday, the twenty-fifth, presented to the Senate a letter from James Shields, asking to be allowed to assume his seat. Mr. Crittenden presented the credentials of Mr. Shields and asked that he be sworn in as Senator from Minnesota. Johnson, of Arkansas, Mason and Hunter, of Virginia contended that no such State as Minnesota was recognized by the United States Senate; while Crittenden,

Simmons, of Rhode Island, and Pugh, of Ohio, held to the contrary. Precedents were cited that Representatives and Senators had heretofore been allowed to take their seats before a State was formally admitted.

Mr. Brown, of Mississippi, presented the best argument in the case in which he asked: "Who accepted the constitution of Minnesota? Who has pronounced it Republican in form? Who guarantees to us that she has complied with the provisions of the Enabling Act?" These questions were unanswerable and Robert Toombs offered a resolution, which was adopted, referring the matter to the Judiciary Committee, "with instructions to inquire whether or not Minnesota is a State of the Union under the Constitution and laws." On March 4, 1858, Mr. Bayard, in behalf of the Committee, reported, "That Minnesota is not a State of the Union."

Although the constitution of Minnesota was sent to the Senate January 11, 1858, and that of Kansas not until February 2, 1858, the Southern Senators were successful in keeping the bill of admission of the former in abeyance, until the bill admitting Kansas was passed by the Senate. On March 23, Mr. Douglas asked that the Minnesota bill be considered; but Mr. Gwin pressed the claims of the Pacific railroad bill and the remainder of the day was passed in fruitless debate.

On the following day, Mr. Doolittle, of Wisconsin, said that by a tacit understanding the Minnesota bill was to be considered immediately, after the Kansas matter was disposed of by the Senate, and demanded that in good faith the bill should be taken up at once. Mr. Gwin again objected in favor of his Pacific railroad bill, and was supported by Bigler, of Pennsylvania, Broderick, of California, and Mason, of Virginia; while Wade and Pugh, of Ohio, Stuart, of Michigan, Seward of New York, Bright, of Indiana, Crittenden, of Kentucky and Johnson, of Tennessee, contended for the priority of the Minnesota bill. Mr. Mason even thought that the Senate should suspend action upon the Minnesota bill, until the House disposed of the Kansas question. Mr. Seward deemed the idea absurd, Wade and Crittenden held the admission of men entitled to seats in the Senate,

should take precedence of all other business. The Minnesota bill was finally taken up by the Senate by a vote of 30 to 16.

The bill as a whole differed little from the usual form of such acts, but there was one feature that caused a division of the Committee and led to an animated discussion in the Senate. By the Enabling Act a census was to be taken; this was not yet finished, and the returns already received were not above suspicion. This led to embarrassment in determining the Representatives in the House. The bill as first reported provided for one Representative, and as many others as the completed census should show the State entitled to. The new constitution of Minnesota provided for three Representatives, and that number had been elected. Mr. Douglas was in favor of allowing them all to take their seats. He was supported by Pugh, Doolittle and others; while Green, of Missouri, Brown, and Wilson argued for two Representatives, and Mason, Collamer, of Vermont, and Crittenden for one only. The matter was finally compromised by voting to allow Minnesota two Representatives until the next apportionment. This in equity was more than the State could demand. Under the apportionment law then in force, each State was entitled to one Representative for 93,420 inhabitants. The census of Minnesota as far as completed showed a population of about 140,000; to this was to be added the population of those counties from which no returns had been received, which was estimated at 10,000. A population of 150,000 would legally entitle the State to only one Representative, since a major fraction at that time did not necessarily entitle the State to any additional member.

The discussion lasted several days, and it was with the greatest difficulty that Mr. Douglas was able to obtain the attention of the Senate for consecutive days upon the Minnesota bill. One of the principal causes was the delay on the Kansas bill, the House failing to pass the Senate bill, offering a substitute finally. Considerable time was devoted to the Minnesota bill on April 6 and 7. Various objections were made on the ground that Minnesota had not complied with the provisions of her Enabling Act. The split convention was held illegal. The

Representatives were elected at large, while the laws of Congress required that they should be elected by Congressional Districts. It was held that more delegates were elected to the constitutional convention than the Enabling Act permitted. The latter was simply occasioned by a wrong but a plausible construction made by the Minnesota authorities. The Act provided for two delegates to be chosen for every Representative to the Territorial Legislature. The Minnesota authorities construed the word Representative, to apply to Councilors as well as Representatives, thereby making a convention of 108 members instead of 78.

In closing the debate Mr. Brown announced that he did not approve of the constitution, but would vote for the admission to keep faith on the slavery question. Mr. Trumbull, of Illinois, stated that the State Legislature of Minnesota was passing laws, and that they were being approved by the Territorial Governor. Such legislation as this, would be held a nullity in any court in Christendom. The vote on the bill was taken April 7, 1858, and resluted in forty-nine yeas and three nays; Clay, of Alabama, Kennedy, of Maryland and Yulee, of Florida, voted in the negative.

MINNESOTA BILL IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Since the Enabling Act was passed, a new House had been organized and a new Speaker elected. Galusha A. Grow had been replaced as Chairman of the Committee on Territories by Alexander Stephens, of Georgia, and to his care the bill was now entrusted. After many unsuccessful attempts the bill was taken up May 4. The same old question of representation came up, and much the same line of argument was pursued as in the Senate. The most determined, severe, acrimonious and partisan opponent to the admission of the new State was John Sherman of Ohio. In place of the bill he offered a substitute, the preamble of which recited that the constitution of Minnesota "does not conform to the Constitution and laws of the United States." He would remand the entire constitution back to the

State for revision. He held that no legal convention ever sat in Minnesota; it was a "double-headed mob," composed of 108 instead of 78 delegates; and the Representatives to Congress were not elected by districts, but at large.

This vicious attack of Mr. Sherman led to a lengthy debate, in which Albert G. Jenkins, of Virginia, answered Sherman's arguments *seriatim* with ability. Mr. Garnett, of Virginia, and Mr. Blair, of Missouri, denounced Indian suffrage, Mr. Anderson, of Missouri, Mr. Davis, of Maryland and Mr. Smith, of Virginia, opposed the alien suffrage of the bill. The discussion was prolonged, with the interposition of other business, until May 11. The debate was closed by Alexander Stephens, of Georgia, who attempted to disabuse a number of his colleagues minds that the word citizen and elector were not synonymous. In speaking of the difference he said:

> Great confusion seems to exist in the minds of gentlemen from the association of the words citizen and suffrage. Some seem to think that rights of citizenship and rights of suffrage necessarily go together; that one is dependent on the other. There never was a greater mistake. Suffrage, or the right to vote, is the creature of the law. There are citizens in every State of this Union, I doubt not, who are not entitled to vote. So, in several of the States, there are persons who by law are entitled to vote, though they be not citizens.

He held it sufficient that the constitution of the proposed State was republican in form and expressed the will of the people.

Mr. Sherman's substitute was rejected by a vote of 51 to 141, and the bill was passed as it came from the Senate, the vote being 157 to 38.

ADMISSION OF THE UNITED STATES SENATORS.

The State having been admitted, the next thing was the admission of the Senators and Representatives. On May 12 Robert Toombs presented the credentials of Henry M. Rice and moved the oath of office be administered to him. Mr. Harlan, of Iowa, then presented a communication from certain settlers on the Fort Crawford Reservation in his State, setting forth

that Henry M. Rice, as agent for the Secretary of War, had charged them $1.50 per acre for their land instead of $1.25, as directed by the Secretary of War. Some other charges of fraudulent dealings were also made. Mr. Harlan presented these allegations to the Senate but made no motion. Mr. Brown thought the charges no bar to the admission of Mr. Rice, but proceeded to object on other grounds. States, not Territories, he held can elect Senators; and because Minnesota was a Territory when Mr. Rice was elected, he affirmed that the election was null and void. Mr. Seward characterized this objection as psychical rather than practical. Mr. Benjamin, of Louisiana, called the attention of the Senate to the fact, that they would find upon their desks a communication from the War Department, in which Mr. Rice explained that the twenty-five cents per acre were expended for the interests of the settlers and cheerfully paid by them. He characterized Mr. Harlan's action as unusual, discourteous, and even cruel. Mr. Toombs made a few remarks about the judgment appropriate for a Senator and a gentleman, and requested a vote. Mr. Pugh suggested that if Mr. Harlan's high standard of morality made it impossible for him to occupy a seat in the Senate with Mr. Rice, there was a very simple remedy—to resign. Jefferson Davis came to Mr. Harlan's rescue, and explained that the gentleman was simply acting for his constituents.

Mr. Rice was then sworn in. He stated that he was taken entirely by surprise by the charges preferred by Mr. Harlan, and was not prepared to enter into an elaborate defense; but that he acted in strict accordance with the instructions of the Secretary of War, and if any fraudulent act should appear upon investigation he would resign his seat in the Senate. The oath of office was then administered to James Shields.

Two days after his admission, Mr. Rice moved that an investigation be made into the charges preferred against him by Mr. Harlan. The motion was carried, and the matter was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs. On June 9, 1858, Jefferson Davis, in behalf of the committee, made a report, which was adopted, completely exonerating Mr. Rice.

MINNESOTA'S REPRESENTATIVES ADMITTED TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

On May 13, Mr. Phillips, of Pennsylvania, presented the credentials of William W. Phelps and James M. Cavanaugh, and moved that they be sworn in as members of the House of Representatives from Minnesota. The motion encountered an antagonist in John Sherman. He held that the credentials of the two men were signed by Samuel Medary, Governor of the Territory of Minnesota, but they should be signed by the Governor of the State, under the State seal. He said that Mr. Medary was at the time he signed the credentials postmaster of Columbus, Ohio, and could by no manner of means certify to the election of Representatives from another State. "Where, he asked, are the credentials of the third man elected?" He contended that there was no legality in tossing up a copper to determine which man should be admitted. He held their elections entirely void, and insisted that Minnesota should have no Representatives in the House until after the next regular Congressional election.

On motion of Mr. Millson, of Virginia, the credentials were referred to the Committee on Elections with instructions to inquire into the rights of Messrs. Cavanaugh and Phelps to seats. Mr. Harris, on May 20, on behalf of a majority of the committee, submitted a report favoring the admission of the Representatives. On May 22, printed copies of the majority and minority reports were submitted. The majority report held the Enabling Act authorized the elections of the Representatives before the actual admission of the State; that there were precedents for election by general ticket instead of by Congressional Districts; and that the fact that three were elected was immaterial, since credentials were presented for only two.

There were two minority reports that held the election void because it took place while Minnesota was yet a Territory. One held that precedents for such an election were fit only to be re-

versed and expunged. It held further that there was no way known to law by which two of the three elected could be designated, and that the certificates of election presented were mere nullities, because not signed by any State officer. The recommendation was that Messrs. Cavanaugh and Phelps be not allowed to qualify. Israel Washburn, Jr., of Maine, who made the second minority report, arrived at the same conclusions as his colleagues who signed the first minority report by a different course of reasoning. He stated that the constitution of the State provided for three Representatives, while the Act of Congress restricted the number to two; therefore, if the constitution is valid all three are elected, if invalid, none is elected. He stated that to allow candidates to decide who shall retire is to transfer the election from the people to the candidates. After a discussion the report of the majority was adopted and Messrs. Cavanaugh and Phelps were sworn in May 22, 1858.

The question arose in the House who should represent that part of the Territory of Minnesota not included in the new State. W. W. Kingsbury, then the Territorial Delegate, and Alpheus G. Fuller contended for the honor. The matter was referred to the Committee on Elections, a majority of whom reported that Mr. Kingsbury was legally elected Delegate on October 13, 1857, and that the admission of a State formed out of part of the Territory, did not annul that election. After considerable discussion the majority report was adopted, and Mr. Kingsbury retained his seat until March 3, 1859.

ADJOURNED SESSION OF THE LEGISLATURE.

The session of the Legislature was resumed June 2. Lieutenant Governor William Holcombe presided over the Senate and the House elected George Bradley Speaker. Mr. Bradley was born in Charleston, Maine, he graduated from Waterville College in 1853; studied law in Bangor, Maine, and came to Belle Plaine where he practiced his profession until 1860. In that year he was appointed receiver of the United States Land Office at Forest City, Minnesota. On the organization of the Seventh Min-

nesota Infantry he was commissioned Major, afterwards promoted to Lieutenant Colonel, and was discharged with the regiment. After the war he practiced law in Minneapolis, where he died in 1878.

The message of Governor Sibley was presented to the joint convention of the Legislature. He devoted the first part of the address in complimenting the citizens of the State, for their patience, and dignified attitude pending the debates, that retarded the bill for the admission of Minnesota into the Union, and reviewed briefly her career as a Territory. He deplored the financial crisis, which the country had so lately passed through, it having had a calamitous effect on Minnesota, but he hoped it would only be temporary. He spoke of the great plan of Congress for railroad intercommunication, and said it was vital to the prosperity of Minnesota, that railroads should be completed at an early period on account of her isolation during the winter season. He regarded it of utmost importance to the permanency and character of the State, the diffusion of intelligence among the people and especially the education of the rising generations.

For the better protection of the frontiers, and to guard against Indian massacres a complete and thorough organization of the militia was necessary. He closed his address stating his adherence to and belief in State rights. He said: "The doctrine of non-intervention on the part of the United States, or of one State with the domestic affairs of any other State or Territory, embodies the only safe and correct principle. It is in fact the cornerstone of the Union, and its observance in all cases would put an end to the interminable disputes, which now agitate Congress and divide the two great sections of the Confederacy into opposing factions."

The Legislature adjourned August 12, 1858. In a review of the laws passed the following may be noted. The annual salary of the Chief Justice and Associate Judges of the Supreme Court and also of the District Judges was fixed at $2,000. A general banking law was passed, also an act creating and regulating gas companies. By another general act, institutions of learning might be incorporated. The sum of $100 was appro-

priated to be used in preparing and distributing a series of essays on the climate and resources of Minnesota. Persons were forbidden under a penalty of a fine of not more than $25 or less than $5 from taking trout from any waters of the State, by the means of a seine, net, basket, or trap. Three State Normal Schools were organized. An act was passed providing for township organization. By another act logs and lumber were secured a free passage down the several rivers of the State. By a joint resolution the Governor was authorized to have engraved the seal of the State; and another favored the building of an overland route from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean. Congress was memorialized for an appropriation for the construction of a wagon road from some point on Lake Superior, in the State of Minnesota, to the South Pass of the Rocky Mountains; also to complete the Mendota and Big Sioux River military road. Polk and Wadena Counties were established, their organization was perfected in 1873.

Among the peculiar acts of the Legislature was one to enable the members to draw pay, for the recess of sixty-eight days, that took place from March 25, to June 2. It was finally solved by Thomas A. Thompson, of Wabasha County, who offered the following resolution:

> Resolved, That the chief clerk is hereby instructed to draw certificates for stationery in favor of members that wish to take the same for $75. The members taking the certificates shall sign and receipt in full to the State for all demands they may have for pay during the vacation from the twenty-fifth of March to the second of June.

This raid or grab on the State treasury, calling it stationery, is, to say the least, unique in its conception, and worthy of the fertile brain of more experienced politicians than one would think that a young State like Minnesota contained at this time. There were two members, however, of the Legislature that did not avail themselves of the gratuitous gift—E. Bray, of Carver, and Robert C. Masters, of Dakota County.

The Legislature owing to its protracted session passed an enactment that it would be unnecessary to hold a session in the winter of 1858 and 1859.

WRIGHT COUNTY WAR.

"The Wright County War" was an incident which occurred during the administration of Governor Sibley, and with which he was prominently connected. His official conduct in the premises excited at the time acrimonious censure, and has frequently been commented upon since as an error of judgment on his part. His action was prompted by a firm determination on his part that the laws of the State should be obeyed and order enforced.

In 1858 a man named Rhinehart, who had been arrested in Le Sueur County for murder, was taken out of jail where he was confined, by a mob of disguised men and hung. One or two other cases of lynch law had also occurred, and the law-abiding people became alarmed at these demoralizing demonstrations, and insisted that an effort should be made to suppress or punish them.

In the fall of 1858 H. A. Wallace was murdered in Wright County and the following spring his neighbor, Oscar F. Jackson, was tried for the murder and acquitted. The people of Wright County generally were dissatisfied with the verdict. They believed that Jackson was guilty. A number of citizens, better informed as to the facts, and better judges of what was justice in the case, proceeded, on April 25, to Jackson's house, and hung him to the gable end of Wallace's cabin.

Immediately on learning these facts, Governor Sibley issued a proclamation offering a reward of $500 for the arrest or conviction of any of the lynchers. Commenting on the lawless incident, he said: "These deeds of violence must cease, or there will be no safety for life or property in our midst. If necessary, the whole power of the State will be called into action to punish the perpetrators of such crimes against the law."

Not long after this, Mrs. Jackson, the widow of the man who had been hung, recognized, in a party at Minnehaha Falls, one Emery Moore, who had been prominent in the lynching of her husband. He was arrested and taken to Wright County for trial. On August 2, an armed mob broke into the building

where he was confined and released him. The regular civil authorities of Wright County declared that they were powerless to prevent or punish these illegal acts. Governor Sibley saw that he must punish this defiant lawlessness or merit censure for an abject surrender of the rights and protection of the people to a few rebellious citizens.

He at once ordered the uniformed and equipped militia of the State under arms, and on August 5 dispatched three companies, under Colonel John S. Prince, of St. Paul, to Monticello, the county seat of Wright, to arrest the rioters, and enforce the law. The Pioneer Guard of St. Paul headed the column. A few special detectives and civil officers accompanied the troops, and General Sibley in person directed the whole movement. The force proceeded to Monticello, re-enforced the civil authorities, arrested eleven lynchers and rescuers, and handed them over to the proper county officers. The lawless spirit having been effectually overawed, the force return on August 11, and the "Wright County War," as it was facetiously termed, was ended without bloodshed. The cost of the expedition was necessarily considerable, and was severely commented on by party papers, but there was no law-abiding citizen who did not heartily sustain Governor Sibley in his prompt and determined effort to uphold the majesty of the law.

Chapter III.

SECOND STATE LEGISLATURE.

IN the campaign for the election of State officers and members of the Legislature in 1859, the Republican party, though young, its growth had been vigorous and promising. The members were enthusiastic in their faith and aggressive in their methods to secure its triumph. Every Republican and many Democrats believed that the election and canvass of the votes in 1857 had been fraudulent. There was also opposition to the general work of the last Legislature, which was deemed lavish in its expenditures and unwise in some of its legislation; there was also a United States Senator to be elected in place of Senator Shields. The Republicans were determined, that there should be a free vote and an honest count. Their efforts resulted in a complete victory. They not only elected their State officials, but obtained control of the Legislature, Republican members being elected in Democratic districts.

The Republican candidate for Governor was Alexander Ramsey, who received 21,335 votes; his Democratic opponent, George L. Becker, had 17,582. The State officials elected with Governor Ramsey were Ignatius Donnelly, Lieutenant Governor, James H. Baker, Secretary of State, Charles Scheffer, Treasurer and Gordon E. Cole, Attorney General.

In the First Congressional District William Windom, Republican, received 21,061 votes, while Christopher Graham, the Democratic nominee, had only 17,417. In the Second District J. M. Cavanaugh was defeated for re-election by his Republican competitor, Cyrus Aldrich, by a vote of 21,300 to 17,688. At this time the two Congressmen were elected from the State at

large, the division by districts being merely a matter of propriety.

Cyrus Aldrich, of Minneapolis, was born at Smithfield, Rhode Island, June 18, 1808. His education was limited to the common schools; at the age of eighteen he engaged in a seafaring life. This life not proving to his taste, he abandoned it and in 1837, he emigrated to Illinois locating at Alton; four years later he removed to Galena and became interested in staging and mail contracts. He was elected to the Illinois Legislature in 1845, was appointed register of deeds of Jo Daviess County in 1847, and two years later receiver of the land office at Dixon, Illinois. In 1852, he ran for Congress on the Whig ticket against "Long John" Wentworth, but was defeated by a small majority. He located at Minneapolis in 1855, and was elected a member of the constitutional convention, where his ability for leadership brought him to the front. In 1860, he was elected to Congress; in 1862 declined a re-nomination. President Lincoln appointed him a member of the indemnity committee, to adjust claims of settlers who had suffered during the Indian outbreak of 1862. In 1865 he was elected to the State Legislature, and was appointed postmaster of Minneapolis in 1867, which position he held four years. He died at Minneapolis, October 5, 1871.

The Legislature assembled December 7, 1859. The Senate was presided over until January 2, 1860, by William Holcombe, for the reason that the Democratic State officials' terms of office did not expire until that date. During the early part of the session, some of the Republicans in the Senate became incensed over certain rulings of the presiding officer and appealed to the House to have him impeached. The Judiciary Committee of that body, reported that the House had no right to interfere with the business of the Senate, and advised the Republican members of the Senate, who were largely in the majority to amend their rules, so as to make the Lieutenant Governor do precisely what they wanted him to do.

In the Senate William Sprigg Hall, Michael Cook, Emerson Hodges, George Watson, Thomas Cowan and Samuel E. Adams had been re-elected.

Of the thirty-seven members all were natives of the United States, with the following exceptions: Thomas Cowan, of Traverse des Sioux, an attorney, a native of Scotland, representing Nicollet and Brown Counties. D. C. Evans, of South Bend, a farmer, a native of Wales, who represented the district comprising Blue Earth and Le Sueur Counties. Frederick Gluck, of Brownsville, a farmer, a native of Germany, representing Houston County, and John H. Stevens, of Glencoe, a farmer, a native of Canada, representing McLeod, Sibley, and Renville Counties, and who one of his associates says was always a prominent and useful citizen, indeed, one of the fathers of the State.

Among those who were serving their first term in the State Legislature that afterwards became prominently identified with the political and military affairs of the State were, William McKusick, of Stillwater, Jacob H. Stewart, of St. Paul. Robert N. McLaren, of Goodhue County, was made Major of the Sixth Minnesota Infantry and afterwards became Colonel of the Second Minnesota Cavalry and was brevetted Brigadier General. John T. Averill, of Lake City, who later became Colonel of the Sixth Minnesota Infantry. Henry C. Rogers, of Austin, became Lieutenant Colonel of the Eighth Minnesota Infantry, and after long suffering, died from wounds received in the Battle of the Cedars near Murfreesboro, Tennessee. Alonzo J. Edgerton is mentioned elsewhere in this work. Christopher C. Andrews, of St. Cloud, who became Colonel of the Third Minnesota Infantry, was promoted to Brigadier General and Brevet Major General. He was after the war, representative of the United States at the Court of Sweden and was Consul General to Brazil. Michael Cook, of Rice County, had been a member of the First Legislature, was afterwards Major of the Tenth Minnesota Infantry, and was mortally wounded at the Battle of Nashville, a brave and meritorious officer.

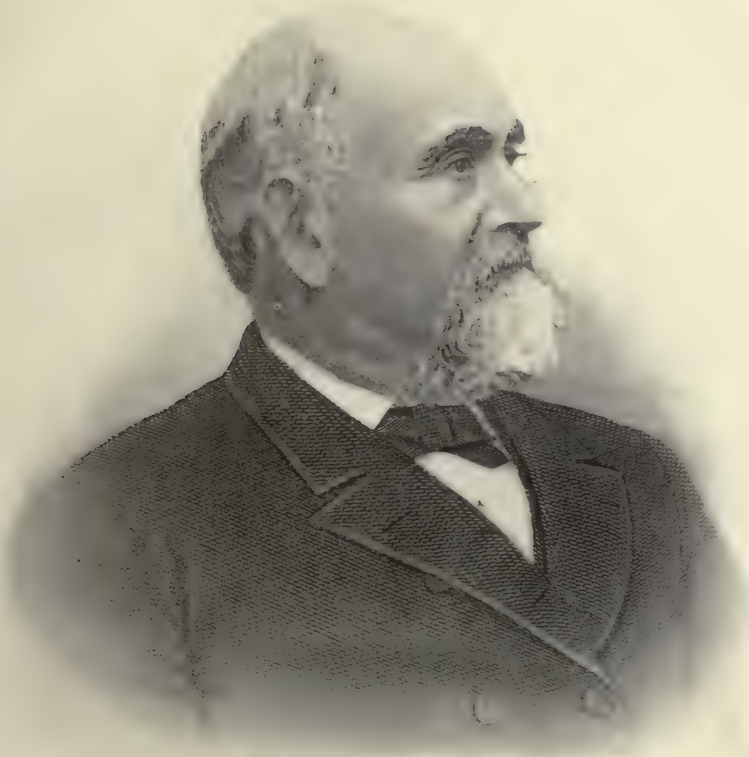
The pioneers of the Northwest were represented by Socrates Nelson of Stillwater. He was born in Conway, Massachusetts, January 11, 1814, and received an academic education. In 1839 he came to Illinois and engaged in merchandising. He subse-

quently removed to St. Louis, Missouri; in 1844 came to Stillwater, and became the first merchant of that locality. He was Territorial Auditor from 1853 to 1857, was interested in lumbering, and died at Stillwater, May 6, 1867. Charles N. Mackubin, of St. Paul, was interested in banking; and for him one of the principal streets of the city is named. His death occurred in that city, July 10, 1863.

The House organized and elected Amos Coggswell, of Steele County, Speaker. Of the eighty members but one had been re-elected, F. Rhefeld, from the district comprising Nicollet and Brown Counties. There were seventeen foreigners in the membership of the House, four being natives of Ireland, five of Germany, two or Norway, three of Canada, one each of England, Scotland and Saxony. Two of the members from Washington County were Andrew Jackson Van Vorhees and Orange Walker. The former was the second son of Major Abraham Van Voorhees, who was appointed in 1849, by President Taylor, register of the United States Land Office at Stillwater. Andrew J. came to Stillwater in 1855; the following year founded the Stillwater *Messenger,* which he conducted until 1868, excepting two years, when he served as quartermaster in the army during the Civil War. Orange Walker was born in St. Albans, Vermont, September, 1801. In 1834 he came west, locating at Jacksonville, Illinois, where he worked at his trade of tanner and currier, also at farming. In 1839 he became a member of the Marine Lumber Company, and came to Marine, where he resided until his death, August 17, 1887.

Ramsey County had elected two Republicans, Henry Acker, who was afterwards secretary of the St. Paul and Chicago Railway, and died in St. Paul, August 31, 1875. He was the father of the distinguished captain, William H. Acker, who was killed in the Battle of Shiloh.

It was the first appearance of another Republican member from St. Paul into the political life of the State. John Benjamin Sanborn was born at Epsom, New Hampshire, December 5, 1826. He was the youngest of five children, his early life was spent on his father's farm. Arriving at the age of twenty-three,



John B. Sanborn.

on the advice of Franklin Pierce, afterwards President of the United States, he decided to prepare himself for the legal profession, accordingly fitted himself for college by an academic education and entered Dartmouth College in the fall of 1851. He severed his connection with this college at the close of his first term and entered the law office of Asa Fowler, of Concord, New Hampshire. He was admitted to the bar in 1854, and opened an office at Concord. A few months later, he formed the acquaintance of Theodore French, of Concord, and both of these young men began casting glances at the undeveloped domain of country lying west of the Mississippi River. The twain finally reached St. Paul in December, 1854, and the first day of the following year opened a law office under the firm name of Sanborn & French. This firm was prominently identified with the Territorial courts; a dissolution occurred in 1860, owing to the death of Mr. French. To fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of William H. Acker, Governor Ramsey appointed General Sanborn, Adjutant General. He, however, preferred active service, November 5, 1861, he was commissioned Colonel of the Fourth Minnesota Infantry, and resigned as Adjutant General to assume its command January 1, 1862. His regiment became identified with the Army of the Mississippi in the early summer of 1862. At Iuka, he commanded a brigade where he repeatedly repelled the assaults of the enemy though confronted with greatly superior numbers. A few days later, at the Battle of Corinth, he acted with equal ability and courage. For these services he was early in December, 1862, nominated for a Brigadier General, but was not confirmed until in August, 1863.

He was also in the Battles of Port Gibson, Raymond, Jackson, Champion Hills, and the assault on Vicksburg. After the surrender of the latter post, he was assigned to the command of the Southwest District of Missouri. In the fall of 1864, Missouri was invaded by a large cavalry force of Confederates under General Price. This gave General Sanborn an opportunity to display again his qualities as a commanding officer in the field. He fought and repulsed the enemy at Jefferson City, at Boonville, led an intrepid cavalry charge at Independence, did effec-

tive work at Mine Creek, while at Newtonia his march of one hundred and two miles in thirty-six hours changed the fortunes of the day. "So ended the last Rebel invasion of Missouri," and the last battle in which General Sanborn participated. He relinquished his command in Southwestern Missouri, June 7, 1865, and assumed command of the District of the Upper Arkansas, where he was engaged in Indian expeditions, and became one of a commission to treat with the various Indian tribes. This closed his active service, he was brevetted Major General of volunteers February 10, 1865, and was mustered out of military service, May 31, 1866.

His thorough familiarity with the Indian character, led to his appointment as a member of the Peace Commission to treat with the Cheyennes, Comanches and other hostile tribes, in which duties he was engaged upwards of a year. The remaining years of his life were devoted to professional work. He was an active member and at one time President of St. Paul Chamber of Commerce, represented Ramsey County in both houses of the Legislature. His death occurred at St. Paul May 6, 1904, at which time he was President of the Minnesota Historical Society. General Sanborn was one of the state's most conspicuous citizens, and his army record was indeed illustrious.

One of the Democratic members from Ramsey County, was Daniel A. Robertson, a native of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, of Highland Scotch descent. He was admitted to the practice of law in New York in 1839, shortly afterwards removed to Ohio, where he engaged in journalism, being editor of the Cincinnati *Enquirer*. He afterwards removed to Mount Vernon, Ohio, and edited the Mount Vernon *Banner;* he was a member of the constitutional convention of Ohio. He resigned the office of United States Marshal of that State on his coming to St. Paul in the fall of 1850, where he established the *Minnesota Democrat*. He was mayor of St. Paul in 1860 and sheriff of Ramsey County for two terms.

Another Democratic member from Ramsey County was Oscar Stephenson, a Virginian, a graduate of the University of Michigan; in 1854 he came to St. Paul and became a member

of the legal profession. He was Probate Judge of Ramsey County for several years.

H. G. O. Morrison, of Dakota County, was born in Livermore, Maine, read law and was admitted to practice in 1848. He was a member of the Maine Senate in 1841, and came to St. Anthony Falls in 1855, removing to Dakota County soon afterwards. Later he lived in St. Paul and in 1873 became a resident of Minneapolis. Henry E. Mann was a prominent attorney of Minneapolis. Charles D. Sherwood, of Fillmore County, was afterwards Lieutenant Governor. William Mitchell, of Winona, a native of the Province of Ontario, Canada, settled in the United States in 1848, received a collegiate education, studied law and came to Minnesota in 1857. He was afterwards Judge of the Third Judicial District from 1874 to 1881, and Associate Justice of the Supreme Court from 1881 to 1900, in which position he achieved just fame as a jurist. William Pfaender, of New Ulm, was afterwards Lieutenant Colonel of the First Minnesota Cavalry and State Treasurer from January 7, 1876, to January 10, 1881.

Dr. Moody C. Tolman, of Anoka, afterwards became surgeon of the Second Minnesota Infantry. Peter Roy, of Belle Plaine, was a native Minnesotian, a mixed-blood of French and Chippewa parentage, born at Rainy Lake in 1829. He was educated at La Pointe, Wisconsin. At the age of twenty-one, he came to the agency at Long Lake, served as interpreter until 1853, when he was elected to the Territorial Legislature. He opened a farm at Belle Plaine in 1855, removed to Little Falls in 1866, where he died in 1883.

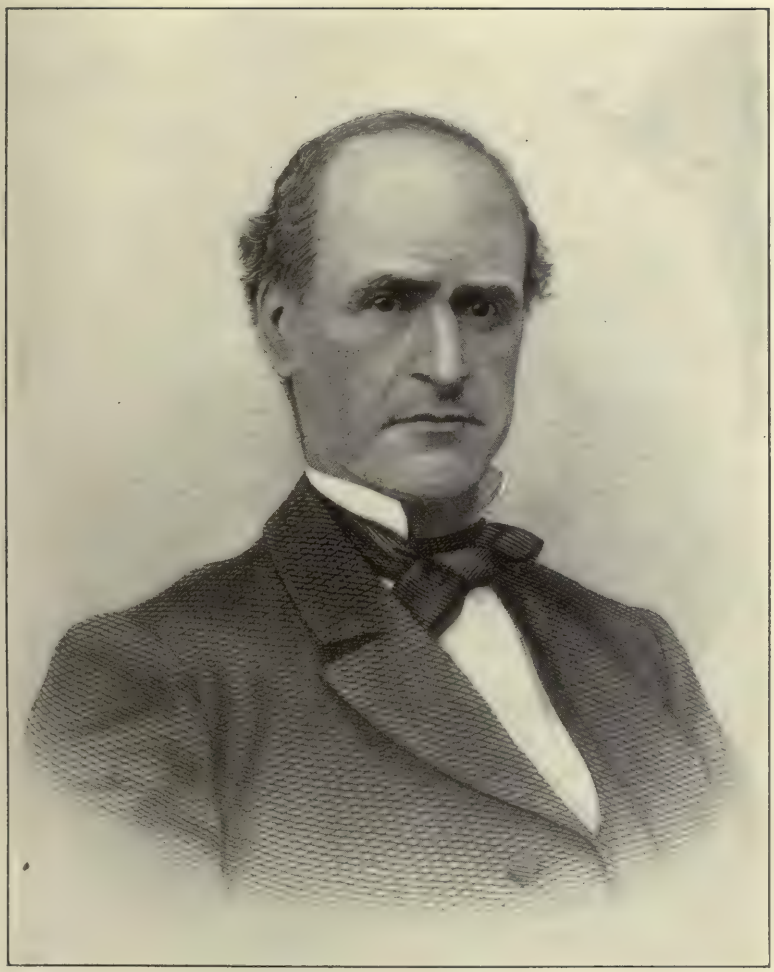
Patrick Fox, of Taylor's Falls, a native of Tipperary County, Ireland, who came when four years of age with his parents to America, and in 1836 to Davenport, Iowa. In 1841, he came to St. Croix Falls, three years later to Stillwater and in 1851 to Taylor's Falls, where he engaged in lumbering and mercantile business.

On December 15, Morton S. Wilkinson was elected United States Senator. The Democratic candidate was James Shields. The vote was 79 for Wilkinson, 33 for Shields and 1 for Willis A. Gorman.

Morton S. Wilkinson, of Wells, the third United States Senator to be elected from Minnesota, was born in Skaneateles, Onondaga County, New York, June 22, 1819. He received an academic education in his native town; read law, was admitted to the bar at Syracuse, New York, in 1842; commenced practice in Eaton Rapids, Michigan, and in 1847 came to Stillwater. He was among the first practicing lawyers of the Territory, and prosecuting attorney in the early Territorial courts. He was a member from Washington County of the First Territorial Legislature. He removed to St. Paul in 1850, the following year was elected register of deeds for Ramsey County, and in 1853 was defeated on the Whig ticket by five votes for Territorial Councilor. In 1857, he removed to Mankato, of which city he was a resident at the time of his election to the United States Senate. Senator Wilkinson was a staunch Free Soiler, an intimate personal friend of Abraham Lincoln, from whom he brought a letter of endorsement when he came to Minnesota. On his professional cards appeared the name of William H. Seward, Auburn, New York, and "Honorable Abe Lincoln," Springfield, Illinois, "as references." In the Senate he was always an effective and firm supporter of the Union, and at one time exposed and defeated a conspiracy to prevent the nomination of President Lincoln for reelection. In 1860 he was one of the Commissioners to compile the State Statutes. In 1868 he was elected Representative to Congress by the Republicans. From 1874 to 1877, he served as State Senator from Blue Earth County, having been elected as a Democrat. Senator Wilkinson was an eloquent and forcible speaker, a man of unusual ability, a sound and logical reasoner. He died at Wells, February 4, 1894.

The Republican State officials assumed their duties January 2, 1860. William Holcombe was succeeded by Ignatius Donnelly and in the future only Democrats were to complain of the rulings of the presiding officer of the Senate.

Ignatius Donnelly was born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, November 3, 1831. His father, a native of the Green Isle, settled in that city in 1817 and was an eminent physician. Igna-



W. L. Williams

tius graduated in 1849 from the high school of his native city. He read law with Benjamin Harris Brewster, afterwards Attorney General of the United States in President Arthur's Cabinet. He was admitted to the bar in 1852 at Philadelphia, practiced with great success until 1856, when he purchased a large tract of land at Nininger, in Dakota County, Minnesota. Here he laid out a townsite, built a large house and at the time of the panic of 1857, found himself bankrupt. The following year he resumed the practice of his profession, and in 1859 appeared on the lecture platform. In the same year he was elected Lieutenant Governor on the Republican ticket, he having previous to this been defeated in two elections for a seat in the State Senate. He served as Lieutenant Governor from January 2, 1860, to July 10, 1863, but before the expiration of his term, he was elected to the Thirty-seventh Congress. He immediately gained prominence in that body by writing a letter, charging that graft was concealed in the expenses estimated to carry out the stipulations of the treaty made with the Chippewa Indians. He was re-elected to the Thirty-eighth and Thirty-ninth Congresses, and during his Congressional term advocated many important measures taking an advanced position in regard to popular education, and the cultivation and preservation of timber on public lands. He became embroiled in a wordy debate with Elihu B. Washburne, a Representative from Illinois, which though it gave him a national reputation as a witty and humorous speaker, was one of the prime causes that defeated him in 1868 for re-election. The following year he became a candidate for United States Senator. When he entered Congress he gave up his law practice, devoting himself chiefly to farming, politics, journalism and literature. He continued to act with the Republican party until 1870, in that year he ran for Congress, at the solicitations of a number of Republicans, on a low tariff platform. Governor Donnelly supported Horace Greeley in 1872. In July, 1874, he became editor and proprietor of the *Anti-Monopolist,* an exceedingly radical paper, which he conducted several years. He also became prominent in the organization of the State Farmers' Alliance, later of The People's Party. He served a number of

terms in the State Legislature, and in 1878 was again candidate for Congress on the Greenback-Democratic ticket; the result was close and he made a sensational and unsuccessful contest, before the Congressional Committee on Elections.

Governor Donnelly during all this time was not idle, he was almost continually editor of some kind of a newspaper. In 1880-81 he wrote "Atlantis," by far his ablest book, which has been re-printed in England, and translated in French and German. More than twenty editions of his "Ragnarok" have been printed in different languages. His greatest bid for literary celebrity was due to his "Great Cryptogram," in which he endeavored to establish Lord Bacon's authorship of Shakespeare's plays. The consensus of opinion is that his theory is incorrect. Later he wrote "Caesar's Column," his best novel, "Dr. Huguet," "The Golden Bottle," and others. He died while on a visit at Minneapolis, January 1, 1901.

The Second Legislature had been elected on a platform of retrenchment and reform in public affairs, which were vitally essential to the welfare and prosperity of the State. The retiring Governor, General Sibley, in his message presented the situation in the following words: "The embarrassed condition of the State finances and impoverished situation of the people imperatively demand retrenchment in expenditures."

He well knew that the State had afloat nearly $184,000 in scrip, and about $250,000 in eight per cent bonds, while there was in the State treasury, on December 1, 1859, only six cents in cash. He also knew that large sums in taxes were delinquent and could not be collected; that the people were poor with small resources and smaller incomes. Certain expenditures had to be met in order that the State now in favor with home-seekers, should suffer no check in her onward course.

The newly elected Republican Governor, Alexander Ramsey, in his inaugural said: "A thorough revision of all laws whereby the expenses of town, county or State government can be reduced is imperative." The admonitions of the chief executives were hardly needed, the members of the Legislature in which the Republicans were in the majority, had been elected on promises to the people of reforms and retrenchment.

In summarizing the work accomplished by the Legislature, it is only fair to say that many of the measures it enacted were original in their character, and the principles they contained were of such force as precedents that they became fairly fundamental. Their influence was immediately beneficial, very few of the laws passed were modified by judicial decrees; and many of them, in word and letter, are yet on the statute books.

A new tax law was passed to take the place of the inadequate measure enacted by the previous Legislature, the main principles of which are still in force. All private property, real and personal, was made subject to taxation, excepting $200 worth of personal property to individuals and excepting stocks in their ownership which had already been listed by the corporations issuing them. Stringent provisions were made for the collection of taxes without favor to any one.

A good practical road law was enacted; also a law regulating the business of insurance companies. Other enactments amended the militia law; provided for the organization of agricultural societies; gave lumbermen a lien for their services on the logs and lumber on which they had worked; provided for the formation of companies for mining, smelting, and manufacturing iron, copper and other minerals; and to encourage these industries, then not well established, levied no tax on their output. It also enacted stringent law against bribery, and another prohibiting the sale of liquor to the Indians. The Legislature refused to abolish capital punishment; and established interest rates at seven per cent for legal indebtedness, six per cent for judgments of courts, and at not more than twelve per cent by contract between individuals.

The system of county organization and government provided by the First Legislature had proved ineffective and unsatisfactory. The county government was vested in a Board of Supervisors, composed of one member from each civil township, elected by the people of the respective townships. This made the Board composed of a dozen or more members, and there was a divergence and multiplicity of views among them on most questions acted upon. The system proved cumbersome, unwieldly, and

expensive. The Second Legislature repealed the law and in its stead created a Board of County Commissioners. In counties where eight hundred votes or more had been cast at the previous election five commissioners were to be chosen by the electors of the entire county; and in counties where less than eight hundred votes had been cast, the Board was to consist of three members. In counties where township organization had not been effected the Governor was to appoint the commissioners. A township organization was provided for, a clerk, assessor, and supervisor to be elected in each civil township. Stevens County was established February 20, and Watonwan County November 6, 1860. An entire new election law was enacted, the most important provision of this law was a requirement of a registration by voters. Only persons registered could vote.

Substantially a new system was adopted relating to common schools, the statutes being so amended. The Chancellor of the State University was made ex-officio State Superintendent of Schools. No county superintendents were to be chosen. Each civil township was to choose a town superintendent who might grant teacher's certificates, which were to be valid only in his town; to have legal force throughout the State the certificates were to be signed by the chairman and secretary of the State Normal School at Winona. The State University was to be managed and controlled by a Board of Regents, to consist of the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, and five other members appointed by the Governor. The Legislature of 1858 had provided for establishing three Normal Schools, one to be built every five years, upon donation of $5,000 in money or lands. The Second Legislature suspended the act on the subject for five years; except as it applied to the school at Winona which was already established.

In pursuance of its policy of rigid retrenchment and economy, the Legislature reformed the composition of that body itself. By a new apportionment, the total membership was reduced to sixty-three, or twenty-one in the Senate and forty-two in the House, a total reduction of fifty-six members. The sessions were reduced to sixty days for regular sessions, and thirty

days for special sessions. The Governor's annual salary was reduced from $2,500 to $1,500; the Lieutenant Governor's was reduced from $1,500 to a per diem. The Commissioners of Statistics was created at a salary of $75 per month, with an allowance of $510 for printing his reports. The first commissioner was Joseph A. Wheelock, so long the distinguished editor of the *Pioneer Press.*

A joint resolution, originally introduced by Senator C. C. Andrews, instructed the State's Representatives in Congress to vote for a national homestead law, which would give to each actual settler, after an occupation of five years, one hundred and sixty acres of the public land. A little more than a year thereafter, the homestead law was enacted. Another joint resolution demanded the removal of the Winnebago Indians from the State, and the opening of their reservation in Blue Earth County to white settlement. This removal was not effected until 1863, when it followed as a result of the Sioux massacre.

Congress was memorialized for the establishment of lighthouses on the Minnesota coast of Lake Superior as during the season of 1859 four steamers had made regular trips and more than forty sailing crafts had been engaged in fishing and coasting from ports in that locality. It further stated, that the prospects were that commerce would increase owing to abundant evidences of the existence of valuable mines and mineral deposits, that were attracting the attention of immigrants and capitalists. Another memorial asked Congress for acquisition by treaty with the Chippewas of the lower part of the Red River Valley and the opening of the territory acquired to settlement. This was accomplished in 1863, by the Government, but the adoption of the memorial referred to was the first authoriative and important action taken in the matter.

The particular attention of the Second Legislature was, from the first to the last day of the session, directed to the condition of the projected railroads of the State. The State had issued to the railroad companies $2,275,000 in bonds, detached pieces of grading had been made on different lines, the companies with franchises to build the railroads were practically

bankrupt, and though the people greatly desired and needed railroads, there was a well nigh universal demand, that all further aid to railroads already projected be withheld and refused. By a concurrent resolution the Legislature submitted to the people the following amendments to the State constitution:

> But no law levying a tax or making other promises for the payment of the interest or principal of the bonds denominated "Minnesota State Railroad Bonds" shall take effect or be in force until such law has been submitted to a vote of the people of the State, and adopted by a majority of the electors of the State voting for the same.

The other amendment was:

> The credit of the State shall never be given or loaned in aid of any individual, association, or corporation; nor shall there be any further issues of bonds denominated, "Minnesota State Railroad Bonds" under what purports to be an amendment to Section 10, Article 9, of this Constitution, saving, excepting and reserving to the State, nevertheless, all rights, remedies, and forfeitures, accruing under said amendment.

Both of the proposed amendments to the Constitution were adopted by the people, at the annual election in 1860, by an overwhelming majority. The vote in favor of the expunging amendment was 19,308; against 710.

The practical result of this Legislature's work was a great reduction of the State's expenses. The expenditures for 1859 had been $281,400. The total disbursements from the State treasury from December 1, 1859 to January 1, 1861—thirteen months, was $138,846.84, a reduction over those of 1859 of about $142,500, it is, however, only fair to say that in 1859, there was paid the expenses of the constitutional convention, which amounted to about $60,000.

Chapter IV.

THIRD STATE LEGISLATURE.

THE first Presidential election in Minnesota occurred at a momentous period in the history of the country. The vexed question of the admission of Kansas into the Union under the Lecompton Constitution, which was claimed by the Republicans as being fraudulently concocted by the pro-slavery party, and which was also opposed by a powerful section of the Democratic party headed by Stephen A. Douglas, was to result in a schism in the latter party, which eventually was to place four Presidential candidates in the field.

The success of the Republican party in the previous State election stimulated its members to renewed exertions, and throughout the State political speakers, aided by "Wide Awake" torchlight processions, instilled into the people the doctrines and fundamental principles of Republicanism. The Presidential vote cast was as follows: Abraham Lincoln, 22,069; Stephen A. Douglas, 11,920; and John C. Breckinridge, 748. William Windom and Cyrus Aldrich were re-elected to Congress.

The Third Legislature assembled January 8, 1861. In the Senate Michael Cook, R. N. McLaren, H. W. Holley and George Watson had been re-elected. The members were all natives of the United States. The Ramsey County districts were represented by James Smith, Jr., and John B. Sanborn. The Hennepin County districts by David Heaton and Rufus J. Baldwin. Mr. Baldwin was born in Guilford, New York, and graduated from Union College at Schenectady, New York, in 1846. For several years he taught school in Kentucky but re-

turned to his native State and studied law, and was admitted to practice. He was a member of the State Legislature of New York in 1852 and five years later came to Minneapolis. He was admitted to the bar of the State but never entered general practice. He, with others, purchased the State Bank of Minnesota located at Austin and removed it to Minneapolis and opened in the latter city for business January 1, 1863, Mr. Baldwin filling the position of cashier. He became connected with the Minneapolis Mill Company also the Water Power Company and was interested in railroad matters. He died in Arizona in 1897, while he was investigating gold and silver mines in which he was interested.

From Winona came Daniel S. Norton, afterwards United States Senator. James W. Lynde represented the district comprising Nicollet, Sibley and Renville Counties. He was born in Baltimore, Maryland, and with his parents removed to Covington, Kentucky, where he acquired a fair English education. He came to Minnesota in 1853 and engaged in the fur trade, also edited the Henderson *Democrat,* published at Henderson. In 1860 he identified himself with the Republican party. He was killed at Redwood Agency, August 18, 1862, being the first victim, at that place, of the Sioux outbreak in 1862. The Second District was represented by Joel K. Reiner, a native of Pennsylvania. He commenced the practice of medicine in Collinsville, Illinois and in 1852 removed to Stillwater. He had been a member of the First State Legislature. He died in 1874 from blood poison contracted while amputating the hand of a patient.

In the organization of the House Jared Benson, of Anoka, was elected Speaker. The presiding officer was a native of Massachusetts and came to Minnesota in 1856, locating at Anoka. He was chiefly engaged in farming and stock raising. He was elected Speaker for three terms afterwards was a member of the Legislature in 1879 and 1889. He died at St. Paul, May 9, 1894. There were but three members of the house re-elected; Henry Acker, of St. Paul; H. G. O. Morrison, of Dakota County, and Charles D. Sherwood, of Fillmore County. The members

were all native United States citizens excepting Emil Munch, who was born in Prussia; W. K. Tattersall, an Englishman, and A. Strecker, a native of Germany. The seat of J. P. Kidder, of St. Paul, was successfully contested by Andrew Nessel.

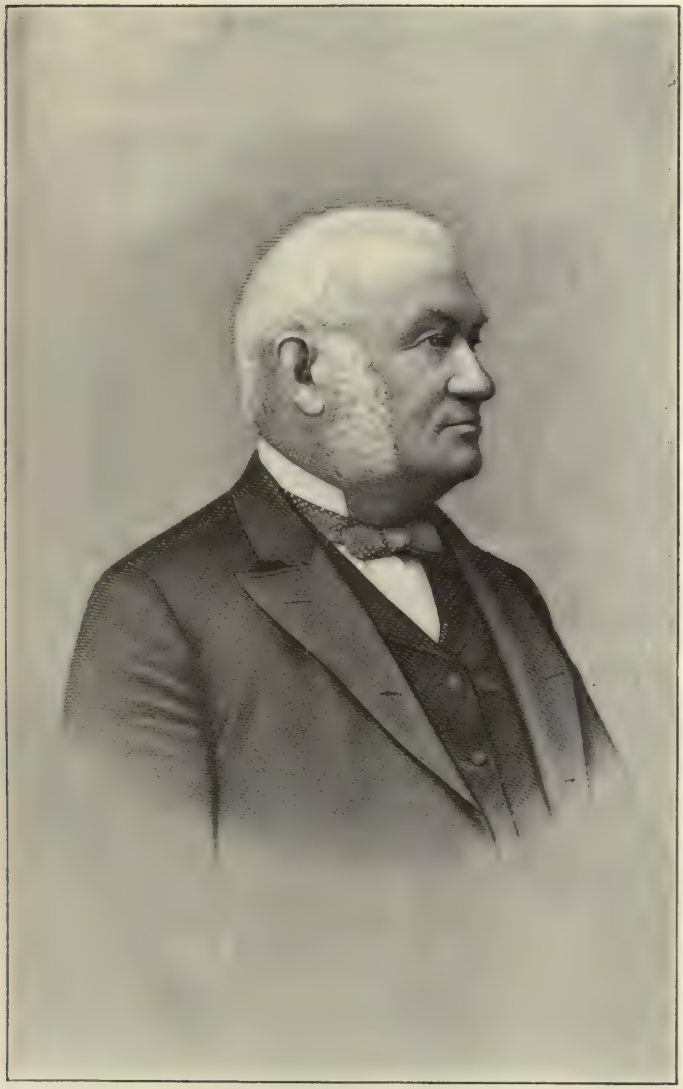
Two Representatives from the Second District were Erastus D. Whiting and Emil Munch. The former was born in Massachusetts. He graduated from the Ohio Medical College in 1832. He practiced his profession in Ashtabula, Ohio, three years, and in Pike County, Illinois, twenty years. Dr. Whiting came to Taylor's Falls in 1857, retiring from practice and until 1867 was engaged in mercantile and lumbering business. He died in Taylor's Falls in 1880. Emil Munch, a native of Prussia, came to America in 1849, when eighteen years of age, and three years later located at Taylor's Falls where he worked at the carpenter's trade until 1857, when he removed to Pine County and commenced dealing in pine lands and lumbering. He enlisted in the latter part of 1861 in the First Minnesota Battery and was chosen Captain. He was wounded at the Battle of Shiloh, took part in the Battle of Corinth and was appointed Division Chief of Artillery, which position he was forced to resign in October, 1862, on account of impaired health. He re-entered the service to fight the Sioux Indians and afterwards entered the Veteran Reserve Corps. At the close of the war he settled in St. Paul and in 1868 was elected State Treasurer holding that office until 1872. He removed to Lakeland and in 1875 became a resident of Afton. He died August 30, 1887.

One of the members from Hennepin County was Francis R. E. Cornell a native of Chenango County, New York, a graduate from Union College in 1842. He studied law and was admitted to practice in 1846. He was a member of the State Senate of his native State in 1852 and came to Minneapolis in 1854. He was Attorney General of the State from 1868 to 1874 and the next year took his seat as Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of Minnesota, which position he held until his death which occurred in 1881.

William L. Banning the member from the Twenty-First District, which embraced the Third and Fourth Wards of St. Paul and towns of Reserve and Rose, was of German descent. He was born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and practiced law in that city. He was a member of the Pennsylvania Legislature and came to St. Paul in 1854. He was engaged in banking, which he continued until 1861, when he joined the Union Army and was appointed commissary of subsistence with the rank of Captain. He afterwards became President of the Lake Superior and Mississippi Railroad Company, and visited London, England, to negotiate bonds for that Company. He was a candidate for Governor on the Democratic ticket against John S. Pillsbury in 1877. He died at St. Paul, November 26, 1893.

Governor Ramsey in his message to the Legislature stated that the population of the State, by the United States Census of 1860, was about 176,000. According to the commissioner of statistics there were in the State 520,000 acres of land under cultivation, of which 433,600 acres were divided into 22,000 farms. There had been in 1859 the following crops raised: 5,400,000 bushels of wheat, 2,200,000 bushels of oats, 3,900,000 bushels of corn, 2,000,000 bushels of potatoes, and the value of the surplus product was over $2,000,000.

He reviewed the railroad situation and summarized the condition as being the same as when the extra session of the Legislature was called in 1857, except there was now in the State about 240 miles of graded road-bed and something over $2,250,000 of conditional State obligations outstanding. He suggested there were numerous reasons why the bonds should be settled, though he thought that equity did not demand, nor in any event was the State able now to assume the burden of paying them at their par value. The best way of meeting the question was to wait until the State had received the equivalent originally proposed. While the bonds had in some degree subserved the building of the roads, their completion and the enhanced valuation that would follow, would aid in the payment of the bonds. This mutual assistance could be secured by requiring any company receiving State lands or general bonds, in lieu of special



Alf. Ramsey

railroad bonds surrendered, to pay into the State treasury five per cent of the gross earnings of the road.

The public schools and disposition of the school lands formed a great part of his address. Reports of the Warden of the State Prison, Adjutant General, and State Librarian were digested and commented upon. He recommended, if the finances of the State justified it, the organization of a Bureau of Immigration to promote the settlement of the vacant lands of the State. The county of Manomin, a creation of ex-Representative Fridley, consisting of only sixteen square miles, which had never made a return of votes, nor paid a State tax since its organization, he advised, occupying as it did such a profitless position, that it should be annexed to one of the adjacent counties.

He closes his message with an allusion to National affairs, and the attitude of the Southern people toward the general government in the following terms: "The blessings of the Union, representation in Congress, the benefits of the postal system, the honors to be won in various departments of the National service, these every State may participate in, but it is unnecessary to force them upon an unwilling people. But the territory, the forts, the arsenals, the dock yards, public buildings, ships of war, revenue cutters, and the revenue, these belong to the whole nation and these the nation can hardly relinquish with honor. Such I believe to be the sentiment of the whole people of our State, and it may be well for the Legislature now assembled, by solemn act in fitting terms, to express our individual attachment to the Constitution and the Union of our fathers and our willingness to contribute whatever of moral or material influence we have to preserve them, now and forever, one and inseparable."

The Legislature adjourned March 8, 1861. Included in the work accomplished was an act regulating and prescribing the duties of county auditors, treasurers, and surveyors. A general system of schools was provided for and a bureau of public lands created, which had the power to appoint surveyors in unorganized counties, who received as a compensation a certain price per acre surveyed. Another act provided for the appraising, sale and

leasing of the school lands, the minimum purchase price being established at $7 per acre, payment to be made in specie, twenty-five per cent paid on the day of purchase, the balance on the following November 1.

The election laws were so amended as to reduce the several acts on the statute book into one. The present great Seal of the State was adopted. The county of Buchanan was consolidated with Pine County.

A game law was passed for the preservation of elk, deer, birds, and fish. The killing of elk, deer, or fawn between February 1 and September 1 was prohibited under a penalty of $5 for each animal slain. The shooting of a woodcock from January 1 to July 1; a prairie fowl from February 15 to August 1; a partridge from January 15 to September 15; or a quail at any season of the year until September 1, 1864, and after this date from January 1 to September 1, was liable to a fine of $2. For trapping, killing, caging a nightingale, whip-poor-will, or any other harmless birds the fine was $1. The catching of speckled brook trout or speckled river trout between September 1 and March 1, was liable to a fine of $1, and if taken any other way than by a hook and line the penalty was fifty cents.

The Republicans in 1861 again nominated Alexander Ramsey for Governor; his Democratic opponent was Edward O. Hamlin. The Democratic nominee was a native of Pennsylvania. He entered Hamilton College, Clinton, New York, in 1848 and in three years received the degree of A. M. He read law at Wilkes Barre and Honesdale, Pennsylvania, and was admitted to the bar in 1852. He practiced law at Honesdale and in 1855 came to Sauk Rapids. He was the first mayor of St. Cloud and from October 1, 1858, to December 31, 1858, was Judge of the Fourth District Court. Soon after the outbreak of the War of the Rebellion Governor Ramsey tendered him the commission of Major of the Seventh Minnesota Infantry, but owing to defective eyesight he was obliged to decline it. Judge Hamlin was a pronounced War Democrat and openly denounced at the Democratic National Convention in 1864, the platform adopted de-

claring the war for the Union a failure. Yielding to the solicitations of his parents he returned in 1873 to his native State, where he practiced until failing health compelled him to retire. There were 16,274 votes cast for the Republican nominee to 10,488 for his competitor. The Republican State officers were all re-elected.

FOURTH LEGISLATURE.

The Fourth Legislature assembled January 7, 1862. Of the twenty-one Senators, James Smith, Jr., J. K. Reiner, David Heaton, R. J. Baldwin, Samuel Bennett, Michael Cook, and G. K. Cleveland had been members of the preceding Senate. The membership was of American nativity with the exception of Thomas Duffy, of Shakopee, a Scotchman and Charles H. See, a merchant of Brownsville, who was born in Canada. The Senator representing Olmsted County was J. V. Daniels, a native of Schohaire County, New York. He settled at Rochester in 1856 and became interested in banking. He was appointed in 1864 one of the commission to take the soldiers' vote for President. From Fillmore County came Luke Miller, a native of New Hampshire, who received his medical degree at Woodstock, Vermont, in 1844. He came to Chatfield in 1857 and practiced his profession. In 1869 he removed to Lanesboro and was interested in the Southern Minnesota Railroad Company and was at one time its vice-president. The Senator from the Twenty-fourth District, comprising the Third and Fourth Wards of St. Paul and the towns of Reserve and Rose, was John R. Irvine. He was born in Dansville, New York, in 1812 and worked in his early life at blacksmithing. He emigrated West in 1837, locating in Wisconsin, and three years later was engaged as a merchant in Prairie du Chien. Mr. Irvine was induced to remove to St. Paul in 1843, as it presented a more promising place for trade. He purchased a tract of land, on which was a log house, situated near the northwest corner of Third and Franklin streets. He afterwards erected many large buildings in St. Paul and became engaged in banking and died in his adopted city at the age of sixty-six.

The House organized and elected Jared Benson, of Anoka, Speaker. In nativity the members were mostly of American birth; there were, however, two who claimed Norway as a birthplace, three natives of Germany, one from the Green Isle and one that was a Canadian. Erastus D. Whiting, of Taylor's Falls; F. R. E. Cornell, of Minneapolis; Jared Benson, of Anoka and A. H. Butler, of Fillmore County, had been re-elected.

Among the new members were J. A. Thatcher, a civil engineer, of Zumbrota. He was born in Lubec, Maine, a Republican in politics, and he settled in the State in 1856. Reuben M. Richardson, of Morris, was born in Circleville, Ohio, August 8, 1816. At the age of twenty-two he emigrated to Wisconsin, where he worked in the lead mines with William R. Marshall and others, and came to Minnesota in 1849. He was employed for a short time by Henry M. Rice, in transporting military supplies from Fort Snelling to Fort Gaines, and afterwards to Pembina. He located in 1851 a claim near Sauk Rapids but subsequently became a resident of St. Cloud. He was appointed receiver of the United States Land Office at Sauk Rapids, which was the first one established north of St. Paul. He died at Morris March 16, 1898.

John H. Stevens, the "Father of Minneapolis," was one of the Representatives from the Sixth District, which comprised Carver, Wright, Meeker, McLeod, Kandiyohi and Monongalia Counties. Mr. Stevens was born in Lower Canada, June 13, 1820; he was, however, of New England descent. He received his education in the common schools of the East and the public schools of Wisconsin and Illinois. Becoming of age he resided for a short time near the lead mines of Galena, Illinois, and in 1846 enlisted in the United States Army. He saw two years service in the Mexican War and upon leaving the army came to Minnesota and located a claim on the west bank of the Mississippi River above the Falls of St. Anthony. He built on the site of the present Union Depot in Minneapolis the first frame house within the present boundaries, on the west bank of the Mississippi River, of that city. He opened the first farm, was the father of the first child born in the original town of Min-

JOHN H. STEVENS.

neapolis. In his house the first court held in that district had its session, and the first agricultural society organized in the Territory held its first meeting. Here were also organized lodges, boards and societies. This pioneer of Minneapolis was at different times proprietor and editor of several newspapers, viz. St. Anthony *Express,* Glencoe *Register, Farm, Stock & Home,* and others. He was one of the organizers and founders of the town of Glencoe. He died, honored and beloved, at Minneapolis, May 28, 1900.

Martin J. Severance, a Democrat, one of the Representatives from the Nineteenth District, was a native of Massachusetts. He received an academic education and removed to Minnesota in 1856. He enlisted as a private in Company I, Tenth Minnesota Infantry, afterwards was promoted to a captaincy. He participated in the Battles of Tupelo, Nashville and Spanish Fort; and was mustered out of the service in August, 1866. After the war he made Mankato his permanent home; he engaged in the practice of law and was Judge of the Sixth District from 1887 to 1900 and was eminently distinguished as a jurist. He died at Mankato.

Nicholas Gross, of St. Paul, the Representative from the Twenty-first District, had been an alderman of that city and was afterwards city treasurer.

The annual message of Governor Ramsey was delivered to the Legislature in joint convention January 9, 1862. In the opening of his address the governor said:

> As representatives of one of the youngest States of the American Union, you are assembled, at the most eventful, and perhaps the most critical period of American history, to take your share, not without its importance or influence, in the grave responsibilities which the National peril imposes on the authorities of every State
>
> Since the last session of the Legislature, secession, then regarded as an impotent threat of a few disappointed politicians, has developed into the most gigantic rebellion of modern times. Eleven States have renounced the authority of the Federal Constitution; and more than 500,000 of our fellow citizens, then following the peaceful pursuits of life, are now arrayed in arms against the nearly equal hosts of the rebellion

All purely local objects of legislation sink into insignificance beneath the shadow of the stupendous National calamity. The peril which menaces the fabric of the Federal Government involves the institutions and destiny of every state.

Notwithstanding the effects of the financial prostration of 1857, and the enormous pressure of war upon the resources of the Nation, the State of Minnesota had continued her onward progress in population, wealth, agriculture, and in nearly every department of industry and social improvement. The farmers in three years had nearly doubled the dominion of the plough and the reaper. In place of importing a part of the food consumed, the exports of grain in the same period had been from 3,000,000 to 4,000,000 bushels. In the meantime the expenses of the State government had been reduced more than one-half; the State tax lessened twenty per cent, while the taxable property had largely increased.

The balance of the Governor's message, after reviewing the reports of the State officials, was confined to the action taken in reference to filling the quota assigned to the State under President Lincoln's proclamation calling for troops, and the troubles occasioned by roving and predatory bands of Sioux and Chippewas, which will be dealt with in another part of this work.

The Legislature adjourned March 7, 1862. The educational laws of the State were amended by an act passed for a general system of common schools, relating to the officers thereof, their respective duties and powers; each township was made a school district, each school district a body corporate, the trustees elected by the people were to hold the school property for the district. The districts were to be numbered by the county auditors and descriptions and boundaries filed with them. By another act the wool growing interests of the State were protected by the levying of a tax on dogs. Every person who harbored a male or female dog over six months old was to be taxed fifty cents, and for every dog exceeding one the tax was to be two dollars. The act also gave the legal voters of any town the power to levy an additional tax on dogs.

The Legislature passed an act by which all the privileges of all persons aiding the rebellion then existing against the United

States were suspended, from prosecuting and defending actions and judicial proceedings in the State. The State was divided into two Congressional districts for the election of Members of Congress; prior to this they had been voted for at large. The name of Breckinridge County was changed to Clay. New acts were passed incorporating the towns of St. Cloud and New Ulm and repealing their former charters. The counties of Big Stone, Chippewa, Clay, Pope, Redwood, Todd, and Traverse were established.

Governor Ramsey called an extra session of the Legislature that convened September 9, 1862. The only change in the Senate was that William S. Moore, of St. Cloud, represented the Third District in place of S. B. Lowry. The House was presided over by J. A. Thatcher of Goodhue County.

The Governor stated in his message that an imperative sense of official duty supported by an unmistakable popular demand, had induced him to call the extra session to take measures and supply means to meet the necessities of the present extraordinary crisis in the history of the State, for which the resources at the disposal of the executive and the ordinary scope of the law were totally inadequate. While the horrors of civil war were convulsing the country the citizens of the State had been aroused to their more immediate danger by the Sioux attacks on the frontier settlements. He then detailed the steps that had already been taken, and stated that appropriations must be made, and the militia organized to protect the people of the State.

The business of the Legislature was mostly confined to matters pertaining to the Sioux outbreak. A board of auditors, consisting of three persons, was created for the purpose of adjusting the claims for war expenditures, for the raising of volunteers for the suppression of the Southern rebellion or for the protection of the frontiers, and for the contracting for arms, subsistence, transportation, etc. Another act provided for the organization, equipment and discipline of the military forces of the State. The Governor was empowered to borrow $100,000, at a rate of interest not to exceed eight per cent, to defray the ex-

penses growing out of the present Indian war and the sum of $25,000 was appropriated for the relief of the sufferers by the Sioux outbreak. A military contingent fund of $10,000 was appropriated to be used by the Governor, Auditor and Attorney General in case the public safety required it.

By another act the traffic in ardent spirits with the Indians was prohibited under penalties of two years' imprisonment or fines amounting to $300. The action of the County Commissioners, in appropriating moneys for bounties for soldiers and for the support of their families, was legalized. By a Legislative enactment of the citizens of the State engaged in the military or naval service of the United States were entitled to vote at the general election of 1862 and all subsequent elections.

Congress was memorialized for compensation for losses incurred by the Indian depredations, for the construction of forts on Lake Superior and the Red River of the North, for the removal of the Winnebago Indians, for an impartial investigation of the Indian affairs of the State, and that a treaty be effected by the United States with the Chippewa Indians.

The special session adjourned September 29, 1862.

In the election held in the First Congressional District, November, 1862, William Windom, Republican, received 8,663 votes to his Democratic opponent, A. G. Chatfield 6,423. In the Second District Ignatius Donnelly, Republican, received 7,091 votes; his Democratic competitor, W. J. Cullen, 5,019.

FIFTH LEGISLATURE.

The Fifth Legislature assembled January 6, 1863. The new members of the Senate were John McKusick, of Stillwater, a prominent pioneer of the St. Croix Valley. He was a native of Maine, emigrated in 1839 to Illinois and the next year came to St. Croix Falls. Here he engaged in the lumbering business and represented Washington, Chisago, Pine, and Kanabec Counties in the three succeeding Senates. He died at Stillwater, October 26, 1900. Charles A. Warner represented the district comprising Carver, Wright, Meeker, McLeod, Kandiyohi

and Monongalia Counties. The Senator fromm Rice County, John M. Berry, of Faribault, was a native of New Hampshire. He received his sheepskin from Yale College in 1847. He commenced the practice of law in his native State in 1850; three years later he located at Lanesboro and in 1855 removed to Faribault. He was elected Supreme Court Judge in 1864, which position he held at the time of his death in 1889 at Minneapolis, where he had resided since 1879. R. Ottman was the Senator from Wabasha County, while M. A. Daily represented the district comprising Steele, Waseca and Freeborn Counties. The Senator from the district comprising the southwestern portion of the State, was David G. Shillock. He was born near Koenigsberg, Prussia, studied law at the University of that city and also of Berlin. He emigrated to America in 1854 and with his family settled in Texas. He came to New Ulm in 1858 and entered upon the practice of his profession. Mr. Shillock was the founder and president of the First National Bank of New Ulm. He removed to St. Paul, where he made his residence until his death.

The House organized and elected Charles D. Sherwood, of Fillmore County, Speaker. The presiding officer was only in his twenty-ninth year. He was a native of Connecticut and came to Minnesota in 1856, and was engaged in agricultural pursuits. He was elected, Lieutenant Governor at the next State election. Only three members had been re-elected namely; R. M. Richardson in the Third District, G. C. Chamberlain in the Seventh District and J. A. Thatcher in the Ninth District. James B. Wakefield, Rueben Butters and Reuben M. Richardson had been members of the First State Legislature.

From the Ramsey County districts came William P. Murray, J. P. Kidder (whose seat had been successfully contested in the Third Legislature by Andrew Nessel) and John B. Brisbin. The Second District was represented by Ansel Smith, who came from Vermont in 1850 to St. Croix Falls, and engaged in teaching. He was afterwards appointed register of the United States Land Office at Duluth, where he died in 1878. J. B. H. Mitchell, a descendant from the Scotch Covenanters,

a native of Kentucky, who came to St. Paul in 1852. In company with others he published, in 1854, the St. Paul *Daily Times,* but the following year located on a farm near South Stillwater. During the early part of the Civil War he was at Nashville, Tennessee, where he reported proceedings of secession conventions to Northern papers. The third member was Samuel Furber, a native of New Hampshire, who came to Cottage Grove in 1860.

One of the members from the Winona County District was Earl S. Youmans, a native of New York, who came to Winona in 1858 and became interested in the lumbering industries of that city. From Houston County came David L. Buell, a native of Colchester, Connecticut. He attended the Phillips Academy at Andover, Massachusetts and after his graduation, taught school and studied law. In the spring of 1856 he came to Houston County and in the winter of that year located at Caledonia. He was admitted to the bar in 1863, and practiced law until 1870. He afterwards represented his district in the Senate in 1866, 1870, 1871, 1872, and 1879. He was Democratic nominee for Lieutenant Governor in 1871 and for Governor in 1875. He was one of the largest land owners in Houston County, having at one time over 1,000 acres under cultivation.

One of the three Representatives from Fillmore County was Hiram Walker, a member of the Second State Legislature, a native of New Hampshire; when he was eleven years of age his parents emigrated to Ohio. Mr. Walker came to La Crosse, Wisconsin, in 1851, and built the first open front store in that place. He located at Rushford in 1854, erected a sawmill and became prominently identified with the growth of that city.

Governor Ramsey in his message stated that in agriculture, the chief interest of the people, progress had kept up with that made in former years. Minnesota wheat and other cereals were quoted in the great grain markets of the country as superior to like commodities grown elsewhere in the Northwest. He congratulated the Legislature that the market value of Minnesota bonds was above par notwithstanding the depression that a few years previously weighed down the State securities. In accord-

ance with the act passed by the Legislature at its extra session in 1862 bonds amounting to $100,000 had been issued to prosecute the war against the Indians, but that the amount thus expended would shortly be returned to the State by the United States Government. National affairs, the prosecution of the war against the Indian outbreak and the consequent distress of the people of the State, form the major part of the Governor's address.

The Legislature was called upon in the early part of its session to elect a United States Senator to succeed Henry M. Rice, whose term expired March 3, 1863. The Legislature on a joint ballot was forty-six Republicans and seventeen Democrats. The two prominent Republican candidates were Alexander Ramsey, and Cyrus Aldrich, there was, however, a formidable element in the party opposed to electing the former to the Senate. In the fall of the preceding year a daily newspaper had been started in St. Paul under the editorship of Frederick Driscoll in the interest of the anti-Ramsey wing of the party. The St. Paul *Press,* which had been established by William R. Marshall, was strongly in favor of Ramsey.

The first caucus of the Republicans was held in the evening of January 12, after the primary proceedings of organization the first ballot was taken; it stood: Ramsey 19, Aldrich 14, Cooper 7, scattering 5. The next ballot Ramsey gained 1, and for 19 ballots that was his limit, while Aldrich's 14 stood for the same length of time. The Aldrich followers then began to cast about for a stronger man and his vote was gradually transferred to James Smith, Jr., of St. Paul. The balloting was continued until near midnight, and, on the last ballot taken before adjournment Ramsey had 23, Smith 16, Aldrich 4, scattering 3. The next night, the first ballot stood; Ramsey 26, Smith 20. The election took place the next day in joint convention of the Legislature, Ramsey receiving 45 votes, the 17 Democratic votes being cast for Andrew G. Chatfield.

The vacancy caused by the resignation of James H. Baker, of Blue Earth County, as Secretary of State, he having enlisted in the military service and owing to the Tenth Minnesota Infantry, of which regiment he was the commanding officer, being

ordered from the State, was filled by the appointment, November 17, 1862, of David Blakeley. Ingnatius Donnelly having been elected Member of Congress resigned his position as Lieutenant Governor, and Henry A. Swift, President protem of the Senate, became on March 4, 1863, acting Lieutenant Governor.

The Legislature adjourned March 6, 1863. In a cursory analysis of the work mention may be made of the amendment to the act creating a Board of Auditors for the adjustment of claims for war expenditures, defining their powers and duties. Three competent persons were to be elected by the Legislature, who were to give bonds of $5,000. each for the faithful discharge of their duties, which was to audit all accounts against the State for property sold, taken, or appropriated for military purposes or for supplies, transportation, subsistence, materials, munitions of war, etc. They were to receive a compensation of $3 a day while actually engaged in transacting the business, also ten cents for each mile actually traveled, not to exceed four hundred miles.

Another act provided for the assessment and collection of a poll tax of one dollar for every white male inhabitant above the age of twenty-one years; soldiers in the employ of the United States service were excepted. Another evidence of the State's advance in civilization was an act requiring every township to erect guide posts on the highways, necessary for the direction of travelers. The supervisors of each town were to submit to the inhabitants a report designating where these guide posts should be erected and for any neglect to make such a report they were to be subject to a fine of $10.

The President of the United States was memorialized to establish a military post at Sauk Centre; also that a company of cavalry be stationed along the military road leading from Lake Superior to the junction of Mille Lacs and Crow Wing roads; for the entire removal of the Indians from Minnesota and for the relief of the sufferers by the Sioux raids. Congress was memorialized for the removal of the Winnebago Indians from their reservation, and for the passage of a general bankrupt law.

The name of the county of Toombs was changed to the county of Andy Johnson.

HENRY A. SWIFT.

Governor Ramsey resigned his executive office July 10, 1863, and was succeeded on that date by the President protempore of the Senate and ex-officio the acting Lieutenant Governor, Henry A. Swift, who was Governor until January 11, 1864.

The new Chief Executive Officer of the State was born in Ravenna, Ohio, March 23, 1823. His progenitors were of New England ancestry. Our subject graduated from the Western Reserve College, at Hudson, Ohio, in 1842. The following winter was spent in Mississippi as a teacher. He began the study of law in Ravenna in 1845 and was connected in a clerical position with the Ohio Legislature of 1847-49. The next few years were devoted to the practice of his profession, also as Secretary for the Portage Farmers' Insurance Company. Wishing for a more extended field for his abilities he came to Minnesota in 1853 and in the spring of that year opened a law office in St. Paul. In 1856 disposing of his interests in that city he invested in the St. Peter Company, which laid out a town of that name. In the fall of 1861, he was elected Senator from that district and re-elected the following year. He declined the Republican nomination for Governor in 1863 but was re-elected Senator for the sessions of 1864-65. In the latter year he was appointed receiver of the United States Land Office at St. Peter and died in that city February 24, 1869.

Chapter V.

ADMINISTRATION OF GOVERNOR MILLER.

AT the State Convention held in 1863 the Republicans presented as their candidate for Governor, Stephen Miller, of St. Cloud. The Democrats nominated as their candidate Henry T. Welles, of Minneapolis. Mr. Welles was born in Connecticut; he was a graduate of Trinity College, of Hartford in that State. He came to St. Anthony Falls in 1853 and was the first mayor of that city. He was interested in lumbering, banking and real estate.

The Republicans were successful at the election, Miller receiving 19,628 to 12,739 cast for Welles. The Republican State officials elected were Charles D. Sherwood, Lieutenant Governor; David Blakeley, Secretary of State; Charles Scheffer, Treasurer and Gordon E. Cole, Attorney General. This election was the first since the Republican party had come into power in Minnesota that there was a decided bolt from the nomination of a regular party nominee. At the Senatorial Republican Convention at Winona, Thomas Simpson defeated Daniel S. Norton; the former was a life long friend of William Windom, who, in lending his aid to defeat his law partner; in his political ambitions must have feared he was to become a foe that would interfere with his own political advancement.

Norton promptly bolted the Republican ticket and joining issues with the Democrats, defeated Simpson at the polls. His success carried great consternation to the ranks of the politicians. It was an endorsement of party treachery and a direct rebuke to party loyalty that boded no good.

The newly elected Governor was born at Carroll, now a town in Perry County, Pennsylvania, January 7, 1816. On his paternal side he was of German descent, his grandfather having emigrated from his fatherland to America in 1785. The Governor's early education was obtained in the common schools of his native county. On his attaining his majority he turned his attention to the milling business and in 1837 became engaged in the forwarding and commission business at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

In 1849 and 1852 he was elected prothonotary of Dauphin County. He was an ardent member of the Whig party and from 1853 to 1855 edited the *Pennsylvania Telegram,* a journal published at Harrisburg devoted to the principles of that party. He was appointed in 1855 by Governor James Pollock flour inspector at Philadelphia. Previous to this time Governor Miller became interested in the temperance cause and procuring a large canvas tent he visited different points in Pennsylvania as a lecturer, meeting with much success. His health became impaired and in 1858 he removed to St. Cloud and engaged in mercantile business. Here he became actively engaged in local and State politics. In 1860 he was chosen a delegate to the National Republican Convention at Chicago and headed the Republican electoral ticket in the election of that year.

Governor Miller was prominently brought before the people of the State during the campaign by his holding with General Christopher C. Andrews, a Douglas elector, joint discussions in the principal cities and towns. At the commencement of the Civil War he enlisted as a private in the First Minnesota Infantry. He had contracted in Pennsylvania an early friendship with Governor Ramsey, and this, in connection with his great activity in raising recruits, together with his undoubted personal merits, doubtless caused his early appointment as Lieutenant Colonel of the First Minnesota Infantry, for which he was commissioned April 29, 1861.

Colonel Miller's military career is resplendent with chivalrous actions and acts of bravery. He commanded the right wing of his regiment at the first Battle of Bull Run. He was in

Stephen Miller

personal command of the regiment during many of the battles of the Army of the Potomac in Eastern Virginia. He was engaged with the enemy at Yorktown, West Point, in the two Battles at Fair Oaks, at Peach Orchard, Savage Station, White Oak Swamp, Nelson's Farm, and Malvern Hill. He was on the rear guard in the retreat to Harrison's Landing and held in reserve at the Battle of South Mountain. On August 24, 1862, he was commissioned Colonel of the Seventh Minnesota Infantry and was transferred to that regiment just before the Battle of Antietam. On account of an accidental fall from his horse, the result of which was serious, he was obliged to rest awhile at home before taking command of his new regiment. Therefore he was not in personal command during the two Indian campaigns in which his regiment took part. He, however, assumed command at Camp Release. He was subsequently the commander at Camp Lincoln near Mankato and had charge of the three hundred Sioux Indians, also was entrusted with the execution of the thirty-eight that paid the penalty for their crimes.

Governor Miller received his appointment of Brigadier General of Volunteers October 26, 1863, but resigned that position to assume the duties of the Governor of the State. At the end of his gubernatorial term he declined a renomination.

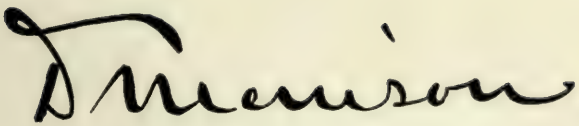
He removed in 1871 to Worthington, and was employed for several years by the St. Paul and Sioux City Railroad Company as a general superintendent of its large land interests in Southern Minnesota. He was in 1872 elected from that district to the Lower House of Legislature.

Governor Miller was a rough and ready speaker, with remarkable wit, originality of style, and a somewhat brusque manner on the rostrum. No man's private character stood higher in all respects, with amiable domestic affections, strongly religious convictions, though not a member of any church. He was a man of moderate means, never a money maker and his last days were somewhat clouded by comparative poverty, but his rugged honesty and manly principles were never questioned. He died at Worthington August 18, 1881.

SIXTH LEGISLATURE.

The Sixth Legislature assembled January 5, 1864. The new members of the Senate were Edmund Rice, of St. Paul, John S. Pillsbury, of Minneapolis, Daniel S. Norton, of Winona, afterwards United States Senator; also Dorilus Morrison, representing Hennepin County. Mr. Morrison was born in Livermore, Maine, and was of Scotch descent. He became a merchant of Bangor, and furnished supplies to lumbermen for their winter logging camps. At the age of forty, in 1854, he visited Minnesota to purchase pine lands for himself and others. Returning to Maine he disposed of his interests and the following year came to reside at St. Anthony. He lumbered on the Rum River, built a saw mill, was director and president of the Minneapolis Mill Company, opened a lumber yard and conducted all branches of the business from the cutting of logs in the woods to the sale of the manufactured lumber. He was first mayor of Minneapolis when it was incorporated as a city in 1867. Mr. Morrison was largely interested as a stockholder and director in construction companies that built the Northern Pacific Railroad. He was one of the founders of the Minneapolis Harvester Works. His death occurred June 26, 1897.

John Nicols, the Senator from the Twenty-first District, was born in Talbot County, Maryland, and served three terms in the Legislature of his native State. In 1843 he removed to Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, and became connected with the wholesale grocery trade of that city. He was a slaveholder, but in 1847 he gave freedom to all his slaves that had reached their majority and continued to do so until all were manumited. Mr. Nicols came to St. Paul, in 1851, and engaged in mercantile pursuits, where he resided until his death, July 29, 1874. He was for several terms member of the Legislature and was one of the Regents of the University. Mr. Nicols was a pronounced Republican. His fidelity to the public interests entrusted to him, and his uprightness in business transactions gained for him the name of "Honest John Nicols."



Daniel Cameron, a native of Oneida County, New York, in 1846, came West, locating in La Crosse, Wisconsin, and was engaged in lumbering and trading with the Indians. He returned to his native State in 1848 and seven years later again came to La Crosse and then to La Crescent, where he was engaged in farming.

J. P. Wilson, from the Third District was a merchant of St. Cloud, a native of New Jersey, who came to Minnesota in 1856.

D. F. Langley, a farmer, a native of New Hampshire and a resident of Minnesota since 1855, represented Dakota County.

J. A. Thatcher, of Zumbrota, a member of the preceding Legislature was Senator from Goodhue County; J. J. Porter, a tanner, by trade, a native of Pennsylvania, who came to Mankato in 1857, represented the district comprising Blue Earth and Le Sueur Counties. F. J. Stevens, a farmer from Steele County, a native of New Hampshire, a resident of the State since 1856 was the Senator from the Sixteenth District. D. B. Sprague, another native of New Hampshire, also engaged in farming, represented Mower and Dodge Counties.

The house organized and chose Jared Benson, of Anoka County, Speaker. Nine of the members had been re-elected. Of the forty-two members, thirty-one were natives of either the New England or Middle States; two claimed Ohio as a birthplace, while there was one each from Illinois and North Carolina. There were seven foreigners members of the House, as follows: Thomas H. Conniff, of Caledonia, a lawyer, a native of Ireland but had resided in the State since 1852; Hugh Johnson and J. L. Meagher, were also natives of the Green Isle, the former being a farmer of Scott County, the latter also engaged in farming in Le Sueur County. Gilbert Graham, a Canadian, engaged in agricultural pursuits was one of the Representatives from Hennepin County; C. A. Ruffee, a merchant of Crow Wing was a native of Nova Scotia and John S. Letford, a carpenter and builder of Carver was an Englishman. The German Representative was Andrew R. Kiefer of St. Paul, afterwards a Member of Congress. Among the members of the House were two who

afterwards became Lieutenant Governors of the State, namely: Thomas H. Armstrong and John L. Gibbs. A pioneer of Grant Jesse H. Soule, a native of Maine was one of the Representatives from Washington County.

Governor Swift in his retiring message to the Legislature said: Though one-fifteenth of the whole population of the State, taking the census of 1860 as a basis, had been sent to reenforce the armies of the Republic and several counties had been depopulated by the Indian raids, the number thus temporarily withdrawn from the State had more than been made up by immigration. He estimated the total population of the State at not less than 225,000. The crops of the past year, in spite of a drouth of unprecedented severity, which had caused a shrinkage of about one-third of the average production, was estimated to be about 4,000,000 bushels of wheat and half that quantity of corn, oats and potatoes respectively. The lumbering interests had also suffered from the same cause which had so shrunken the streams that logs had been unable to float to their destination, about 75,000,000 feet had, however, been cut. The receipts from the fur trade for the past season were estimated at $300,000.

These industries had stimulated and given impetus to the railroad enterprises then being constructed in the State. At five different land offices the past year, under the Free Homestead Law, there had been 3,576 entries, more than half of these were estimated to be new-comers to the State.

He suggested the propriety of building a State Armory, as the history of the last ten years had demonstrated its necessity, especially in a border State. He hardly thought it creditable to the State that no steps had been taken for the establishment of an asylum for the indigent insane.

The Indian troubles of 1862 and 1863 were dealt with and he informed the Legislature that claims amounting to $2,458,000 for damages from the raids had been filed with the Commissioner appointed by the President to audit and examine the same.

He advocated that the portion of the State bordering on Lake Superior in which had been developed large mining interests

should receive an increased representation in the Legislature to aid in their counsels by reason of their larger personal acquaintance with the local geography and physical formation and resources of the country.

He only deemed it proper to call the attention of the Legislature to the inadequacy of the salary allowed the Chief Executive of the State with the heavy cares and responsibilities of the office, the increased living expenses at St. Paul and being obliged to obtain the cash to discount the State warrants received for the salary, the pay was not half sufficient to support the style in which the Chief Magistrate of the State was expected to live. He did not deem it desirable that the compensation should be so increased as to make it possible for the office to be sought as a means of making money, but thought that the Governor of the State should not be compelled, while in office, to seek other ways of employment to gain a livelihood. While the people of Minnesota were not mean or parsimonious and would censure extravagance, he thought they should be liberal and generous enough to amend the law so that the poorest man in the State could afford to accept the office.

He stated, that by glancing at the Adjutant Generals's report it would be found that there had been formed under the militia law forty regimental and battalion districts which were fully or to a great extent organized. The provisions for enforcing the militia law as well as the plan of organization were in a great degree defective. He closed his message with a review of the military exploits of the Minnesota regiments in the past year, also giving an account of the filling of the State quotas for troops ordered by the National Government.

Governor Miller in his inaugural address expressed profound gratitude to the Father of All Mercies for innumerable State and National blessings during a period of imminent peril. He advises that one of the leading objects of legislation should be the improvement and success of the common school system of education, the importance of founding normal schools, and the extricating of the State University from its present financial embarrassments.

The healthy progress of the railroad systems of the State justified him in the belief, that, during the coming year two hundred miles of these great arteries of trade would be completed and in operation. In his judgment there was nothing more certain than the construction of a northern line of railroads to the Pacific Ocean at some period more or less distant. The capital and commerce of the great Atlantic States were so much interested in the success of that enterprise as to render it indispensable.

The improved conditions of the Indian affairs was a cause for congratulation. His message closed with a general review of the state of the country, and stated that every true hearted Minnesotian should view with pride and admiration the reputation her noble regiments and detachments had won in fighting for the cause of the Union. From the commencement of the unnatural and unhappy war Minnesota had been true to her responsibility and faithful to her obligations.

The Legislature adjourned March 4, 1864, one of its most important acts being the creating of the Secretary of State as a Commissioner of Immigration. The Governor was to appoint in each Senatorial and Representative District a Committee of Immigration to consist of three members and upon their recommendation in each organized county a local committee of three members was to be appointed. The Commissioner was to advertise for the composition of a pamphlet which was to explain the advantages to be derived in the State by immigrants. For the composition of this pamphlet a premium of $200 was to be offered for the best production, and $100 for the second best. These two pamphlets when accepted were to be printed in the English, German and Norwegian languages and it was to be the duty of the local committee to procure names of friends, relatives and inhabitants in foreign countries to whom these pamphlets were to be mailed. A sum not to exceed $3,000 was to be appropriated annually for a contingent fund for expenses of this Commission.

The preservation of the game of the State again came under the consideration of the Legislature. The fine for killing an

H. T. Welles

elk, deer, fawn between the first day of January and the first day of August was increased to $25; for every woodcock killed between January 1, and July 4, or partridge or ruffled grouse between January 1, and October 1, the penalty was $5. Dakota and Hennepin and all counties east of the Mississippi River were exempted from the provisions of this act so far as it applied to prairie fowl and pinnated grouse, but in these counties they could not be killed between January 1, and August 1. For killing a nightingale or any of the harmless birds, with the exception of aquatic fowls, blackbirds, and wild pigeons, the fine was $5. For any person entering growing crops, not their own, with sporting implements, the fine was $10 for each offense. The catching of speckled river or brook trout between September 1, and April 1, and then with only a hook and line, in the waters of Minnesota with the exception of Lake Superior, Mississippi, Minnesota, St. Croix and Root Rivers was liable to a fine of $5 for each fish caught.

The Legislature increased the salary of the Governor to $2,000, that of the Secretary of State to $1,200 and Auditor, Attorney General and Treasurer to $1,000.

The Senate passed a resolution approving the President's action in issuing a call for 200,000 more men to reenforce the armies of the Union, expressing great confidence in the sterling patriotism, the incorruptible integrity, and the able statesmanship of Abraham Lincoln; also expressing the opinion that slavery was a great obstacle to the restoration of peace and the reestablishment of the Union; the emancipation policy of the President was heartily commended and Abraham Lincoln was recommended for re-election as President. The House after debating the resolutions for a number of days finally passed them with but slight amendment. There was an unsuccessful attempt made to amend the resolution by substituting the name of Salmon P. Chase in place of Lincoln as a candidate for the next presidential election.

The national election of 1864, the second in which Minnesota participated, there were 42,422 votes cast. This was nearly 8,000 votes in excess of 1860, and the Republican majority

was much smaller in that year. The vote stood 25,055 for Lincoln and 17,367 for McClellan; the former majority being 7,688. There were twenty-seven counties in which votes were cast. In 1860 there had been thirty counties, but in Kanabec, which had given Lincoln fifteen votes, Otter Tail, where the vote was five for Lincoln, six for Douglas and Toombs where the vote was seven for Lincoln and three for Douglas there seems to be no record, of votes in 1864. The counties that went Democratic in 1860 were Morrison, Scott and Stearns, to these were added in 1864 Le Sueur, Ramsey, Scott, Sibley, Todd, and Wright.

In the First Congressional District William Windom received 13,965 votes to his Democratic opponent W. H. Lamberton's 9,002. In the Second District Ignatius Donnelly was elected by a vote of 10,874 to 8,218 cast for J. M. Gilman, his Democratic competitor.

SEVENTH LEGISLATURE.

The Seventh Legislature assembled January 3, 1865. The new members of the Senate were G. D. George, of Rockford, a native of New Hampshire who came to Minnesota in 1855. Levi Nutting, a native of Massachusetts, settled in Minnesota in 1853 and located a claim on the present site of the city of Faribault, represented Rice County. Melville C. Smith, a native of New York State, located in 1854 at Red Wing and the next year came to Minneapolis where he engaged in the real estate business. He afterwards removed to Lake City and subsequently to New York City. The Senator from the Sixteenth District was Benjamin A. Lowell, a farmer of Waseca County, a native of Maine, who settled in Minnesota in 1868. From Scott County came Luther L. Baxter.

The House organized and elected Thomas H. Armstrong, of High Forest, Speaker. The presiding officer was born in Milan, Ohio, February 6, 1829. He graduated from Western Reserve Colloge in 1854, commenced the practice of law at La Crosse, Wisconsin, in 1856, and at High Forest until 1870, when he discontinued practice. Three years later he moved to Albert Lea and

established the Freeborn County Bank. Mr. Armstrong was a member of the perceding House of Representatives and was Lieutenant Governor from 1866-69, inclusive. As a presiding officer he was courteous, dignified and fair in his rulings, and an excellent parliamentarian. There were nine members of the House re-elected. The members were of American nativity with the exception of Stephen Hewson, a farmer of Oxford, and Charles Taylor, a lawyer of Northfield, who were Englishmen; Henry Poehler, a merchant of Henderson, and F. A. Renz, a farmer of Chaska, who were born in Germany; W. H. Patten, a merchant of Le Sueur, a Nova Scotian; and L. J. Stark, a farmer of Chisago Lake, a Swede.

The agrarian interests of the State were largely represented. Besides those already mentioned there were Hamilton Beatty, of Dryden, a native of Pennsylvania; William Chalfant, of Carimona, a native of Indiana; Royal Crane, of Monticello and Henry W. Tew, of Northfield, natives of Connecticut; F. N. Goodrich, of Money Creek and Ansel Smith, of Franconia, natives of Vermont; K. N. Guiteau, of West St. Paul; J. B. Locke, of Goodhue County; W. T. Rigby, of Clearwater; William Teachout, of Olmsted County; C. D. Tuthill and E. F. West were born in New York; Stephen H. Jay, of St. Lawrence was a native of Maryland and Rueben Whittemore, of Rushford, was born in Massachusetts.

The Representatives who were members of the legal fraternity were William Colvill, Jr., of Red Wing; F. R. E. Cornell, of Minneapolis; J. L. Gibbs of Geneva; Charles D. Gilfillan and John M. Gilman, of St. Paul; Henry Hill, of Glencoe; J. A. Kiester of Blue Earth City, and Oscar Taylor, of St. Cloud. Those engaged in mercantile pursuits were A. H. Bullis, of Warsaw; C. F. Davis, of Kingston; J. B. Crooker, of Owatonna; John B. Downer, of Wabasha; L. Z. Rogers, of Waterville. Louis A. Evans, of St. Cloud, was a real estate agent; L. C. Harrington, of Mankato, a grain dealer; John A. Peckham, of St. Paul, an accountant; F. E. Shandrew, of Winona, was engaged in insurance business; F. M. Stowell, of Anoka, was a

manufacturer; Charles Griswold, of St. Charles, was a clergyman, while Cyrus Aldrich, of Minneapolis, was listed in the State Manual of 1866 as following the occupation of a laborer.

Governor Miller's annual message commenced with his humble acknowledgment of dependence upon the Almighty God, and invoked His blessings upon the labor of the Legislature. He was thankful for the success vouchsafed to the national arms during the past year in the struggle with the great rebellion. He complimented the heads of the several State departments, whose reports accompanied his message, for the energy and ability displayed by them in the discharge of their duties.

There had been a gratifying reduction of the floating debt, also an improvement in the system of education of the State since the last session of the Legislature. The progress of the railroad systems of the State were detailed. He informed the Legislature that the premium for the best composition on the subject of immigration to Minnesota had been awarded to Mrs. Mary J. Colburn, of Hennepin County. He recommended that provision should be made for the taking of the census of 1865 and in order to meet this expense, the continuation of the poll tax for one year. He advised the Legislature, that in his judgment the public printing should be let to the lowest bidder for a term of three or five years, also that the election laws should be so amended that instead of having election boards composed of men belonging to the party having the majority in the respective districts as under the present system, that the minority should secure one judge and one clerk; the sale of intoxicating liquors should be, in his opinion, prohibited on election day.

He also stated that the salaries of the State officials were insufficient compensation for the services rendered, and that all officers of the State from the Secretary of State to the lowest subordinate should receive an increased recompense for their services.

He closed his address with allusions to the Indian affairs which had temporarily disturbed the comparative security of the border citizens of the State, also with a synopsis of military affairs.

The Legislature adjourned March 3, 1865. The legislation enacted was of but little importance. The Cannon River Improvement Company was aided in the construction of slack water navigation on the Cannon River, from thence by way of Lake Elysian to the Minnesota River, near Mankato, by the setting aside and granting of all the swamp lands belonging to Minnesota lying and being in the odd numbered sections within the St. Peter Land Department, not otherwise appropriated and not to exceed 300,000 acres. As soon as ten continuous miles of slack water navigation was completed and put in running order for the transportation of produce and merchandise the company had the right to select swamp lands equal to four full sections a mile. By another act the city of Red Wing was authorized to issue bonds not exceeding $50,000 to aid in the construction and the improvement by canal and slack water navigation of the Cannon River.

The sum of $3,000 was appropriated for the improvement of the navigation of the Minnesota River, also $500 for the Rum River for lumbering purposes. Owatonna was incorporated as a city. St. Peter as a borough, and Mankato as a village. The sum of $5,000 was appropriated for taking the census of the State.

An act was passed establishing an orphan asylum for the children of Minnesota's officers and soldiers who had been or might be killed during the Civil War. By another act $3,000 was appropriated for the relief of the sick and disabled soldiers belonging to Minnesota. Soldiers, sailors and all officers below the grade of brigadier general in the military or naval service of the United States were exempt from service from all civil suits except the foreclosing of mortgages.

The act which suspended the formation of any more State Normal Schools was extended for a further term of five years. The exposing for sale or purchase of green ginseng roots between May 1 and August 1, was declared to be a misdemeanor and subject to a fine of not less than $5 or more than $100.

On February 10 the Governor, in compliance with the request of William H. Seward, Secretary of State for the United States,

submitted to the Senate for their ratification the proposed Article XIII to the Federal Constitution.

Section 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Sec. 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Previous to this, on February 6, Representative Gilfillan of St. Paul had introduced a resolution in the House to ratify the amendment to the Federal Constitution as proposed by Congress. On the following day he asked leave to withdraw this and substitute one to ratify the proposed amendment to the Federal Constitution to abolish slavery. The rules of the House were suspended, and the resolution was passed to its third reading, and on the following day it was passed by a vote of thirty-three ayes to five nays. The negative votes were cast by Evans, Guiteau, Rigby, Oscar Taylor, and Tew.

The joint resolution of the House and the communication from Secretary Seward being before the Senate, they were referred to a committee for an appropriate title, also whether the resolutions required the Governor's signature. The committee reported that the latter was not necessary and an appropriate title being adopted the resolutions passed the Senate February 15, there being sixteen affirmative votes. Baxter, Langley, Norton, Porter, and Wilson, were not recorded as voting.

The resolutions were then returned to the House where some slight changes were made and were finally passed as amended by the Senate by a vote of seventeen ayes to one nay, the latter being cast by Shillock, while Baxter, Wilson, and Norton were again recorded as not voting.

One of the exciting episodes of the session was the election of a United States Senator to succeed Morton S. Wilkinson. The retiring Senator was an active candidate for re-election. His party zeal and loyalty were unquestioned, but he had offended certain parties in the distribution of patronage which was the chief secret of the opposition to him. He was an extremist in

his anti-slavery sentiments, and was a personal friend of President Lincoln, and letters from the latter expressing his desire for Senator Wilkinson's re-election were an important feature of the campaign.

The Legislative caucus to nominate a candidate for the United States Senate met on the evening of January 9. In the preceding Presidential campaign a great many Democrats had refused to support McClellan on the "war is a failure" plank, and hence the Republicans headed the call, "Union Caucus," and invited these Democrats to participate, as they, having voted for Lincoln, were recognized as Republicans. There were forty-nine members of the Legislature that attended the caucuses, of whom two State Senators, Swift and Norton, were candidates for United States Senator.

The caucus was prolonged and exciting. On the first ballot Wilkinson had sixteen votes, Swift eleven, Windom ten, Norton twelve. On the second ballot Wilkinson gained three, Windom two, while Swift lost three and Norton two votes. The friends of Senator Wilkinson stood largely by their candidate, but the opposition, though divided on their choice, controlled votes enough when concentrated on one party, to name the candidate. The balloting continued and at one time Wilkinson was within two votes of a nomination. On the twelfth ballot the name of Henry M. Rice was introduced. Though formerly a Democrat he came within the requirements of the caucus, as he had voted for Lincoln. He was given twelve votes, but after the five succeeding ballots his name disappeared. Senator Swift, who had received eleven votes on the first ballot, made no personal effort to increase his following, as he had no desire for the office, placing the quiet and comfort of home life in advance of any political preferment. The opposition against Wilkinson was therefore obliged to look to Norton, who was an active and aggressive candidate for the office. He had had remarkable ups and downs during the balloting. From his start of twelve votes he had dwindled to four, his own and three others. It had been proposed to drop him, as being the lowest on the list, but by his personal solicitation he was allowed to remain for a few

more ballots. His earnest appeals on the twenty-sixth ballot brought his support up to seven votes, the next ballot it jumped to eleven, and it took only five more ballots to decide it, Norton receiving respectively fourteen, seventeen, nineteen, twenty-four, twenty-seven, the thirty-second and last ballot being Norton twenty-seven, Wilkinson twenty-one, Windom one. It may be properly added, that Norton proved false to the friends and interests which nominated and elected him.

The Senatorial election in joint session of the Legislature took place January 11, 1865. Daniel S. Norton received forty-six votes and Colonel James George, the Democratic nominee, thirteen votes.

The Democratic nominee, Colonel James George, was a native of New York State and was admitted to the bar in 1844. He served through the Mexican War, attaining the rank of Captain, and was Colonel of the Second Minnesota Infantry. He came to Minnesota in 1854 and had taken no part in the political history of the State. He died on his farm near Rochester, March 7, 1881.

The newly elected United States Senator, Daniel S. Norton, was born in Mount Vernon, Ohio, April 12, 1829. He was educated at Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio; enlisted in the Third Ohio Volunteer Infantry in 1846, for service in the Mexican War; his health being seriously impaired he spent two years in California, Mexico and Central America. Returning to Ohio he read law and with William Windom came to Winona in 1855, where they opened a law office. He was a Senator in the First State Legislature also in 1861, 1864 and 1865. His death occurred before the termination of his Senatorial term, at Washington, District of Columbia, July 14, 1870.

Chapter VI.

MINNESOTA IN THE CIVIL WAR.

LUCIUS F. HUBBARD.

THE sectional dissensions between the free and slave holding states of the Union reached a climax in 1861, when the resources of compromise that had deferred for many years the final issue had become exhausted, and the advocates of the "divine institution" as a desperate effort to perpetuate its life, sought to dissolve the Union and establish an independent sovereignty, whose chief attribute was to be the recognition of the right of property in man.

Encouraged by the success of former efforts to force pending differences to a compromise, doubtless the leaders of the secession movement believed that their precipitate action would be followed by acquiesence upon the part of the non-slaveholding sections of the country, to the withdrawal of their States upon terms that would obviate serious conflict. The defiant attitude and aggressive action of the slaveholding interest had, however, carried them beyond the line along which farther accommodation or compromise was possible, and the greatest civil war in the history of the world followed the attempt to establish a Southern Confederacy.

NOTE—In the preparation of the sketches of the several organizations that Minnesota furnished for service in the Civil War 1861-1865, the compiler has quoted liberally from Volume I of "Minnesota in the Civil War and Indian War," published by the State in 1890. In fact, much of the data upon which the matter herewith given is based, has been obtained from this source.

Minnesota at the time of the outbreak of the Civil War had but recently been admitted as a State to the Union. It was yet but a sparsely settled community upon the then Northwestern frontier of the country, and though embracing an area of 83,000 square miles of territory, had but 172,123 people within its limits, according to the census of 1860. An unusual proportion of this population, however, was composed of hardy and energetic young men, stimulated somewhat by an adventurous spirit, who had sought the frontier for a home, and were engaged in an industrious and generally an encouraging effort to win an independence. Physically they possessed characteristics that distinguished the best soldiers, and that they were animated by a patriotic spirit was demonstrated by their early response in large numbers to the call of their country.

While Minnesota furnished her full quota under the several calls of the Government for volunteers during the war, yet the number of organizations she sent to the front were few as compared to the older and more populous States. It was, however, her good fortune to be represented in a distinguished manner in many of the notable and decisive battles of the war. The First Regiment at Antietam and Gettysburg; the Second at Chickamauga and Mission Ridge; the Fourth at Vicksburg and Altoona; the Fifth at Corinth and Nashville; the Seventh, Ninth and Tenth at Nashville; the Eighth at Murfreesboro; the First Battery at Shiloh; and on other of the historic fields of the great war her regiments and batteries reflected luster upon the State, by contributing at decisive moments to the achievement of important results.

As distinctively illustrating the loyalty and devotion of her sons, the fact should be borne in mind that while Minnesota was contributing her full share to the enormous requirements of the general Government, she was confronted by and bore the brunt upon her own frontier, of the most desolating Indian War in the history of the country. The Sioux outbreak of 1862—which is treated at length elsewhere in this work—came like a thunderbolt upon the defenceless homes of many of her people, while their natural protectors were at the front aiding in repelling the

assaults of the common enemy. That this condition vastly increased the burden the State was required to bear at this period must be recognized, and will impress the reader with the indomitable and sterling character of her people in the pioneer days of her history.

Minnesota had in 1861 but the skeleton of a militia organization, hardly sufficient to be regarded a nucleus for the formation of an organized force for active service. There were a few local military companies, however, from which valuable material was recruited for the rank and file of the early organized regiments of volunteers.

It is confidently claimed that the first offer of men for the defense of the Government came from Minnesota. On the memorable fourteenth of April, 1861, when the fall of Fort Sumter was announced, Governor Ramsey made a personal tender to President Lincoln of one thousand men for military service. This tender being promptly accepted the Governor caused a proclamation to be issued, calling for volunteers to form a regiment of infantry to consist of ten companies for three months service. In response to this proclamation war meetings were held throughout the State, enlistments promoted and as a result there was mustered into the United States Military service April 29, 1861, at Fort Snelling, the

FIRST REGIMENT OF MINNESOTA INFANTRY VOLUNTEERS.

The regiment was organized by the appointment of Willis A. Gorman as Colonel, Stephen Miller as Lieutenant Colonel, William H. Dike as Major, and was composed of companies recruited in the following localities: From St. Paul two companies, and one each from Minneapolis, St. Anthony, Stillwater, Red Wing, Faribault, Hastings, Wabasha and Winona.

May 7, a telegram was received from the Secretary of War requesting that the regiment be remustered for a term of three years. Most of the men consented to this lengthening of their

term of service, the places of those who could not do so being promptly filled by new recruits. The new muster roll of the regiment was given the same date as the original muster, April 29, 1861, and thus the First Minnesota became the senior three years regiment in the United States Volunteer service.

June 14, the regiment was ordered to proceed to Washington, District of Columbia, and moving by the most expeditious route, it reached that rendezvous on the twenty-sixth. July 3, it moved to Alexandria, Virginia, where it was brigaded with the Fifth Massachusetts, Fourth Pennsylvania, and Ricketts United States Artillery, as a part of Colonel W. B. Franklin's Brigade of Colonel S. P. Heintzelman's Division.

The command to which the regiment was attached moved from Alexandria July 16 to participate in operations that precipitated the Battle of Bull Run. On the twenty-first the First Minnesota became engaged with the enemy in the vicinity of Sudley Church. It was in position as a support to Ricketts Battery, where it assisted in repelling successive assaults of the enemy, and where it maintained its position until ordered to retire. The battery was practically cut to pieces, being compelled to abandon its guns and losing heavily in officers and men. The loss of the First Minnesota was 42 killled, 108 wounded and 30 missing. In the retreat the regiment maintained its organization and assisted materially in the efforts made to minimize the confusion and disorder in which the army generally became involved. It was especially commended for its coolness and bravery in the official reports of its Brigade and Division Commanders.

Following the Battle of Bull Run the First Minnesota was given a short respite in Washington, but early in August was moved to the vicinity of Edwards Ferry on the Upper Potomac. While here Napoleon J. T. Dana was commissioned Colonel of the regiment as successor of Colonel Gorman, who had been appointed a Brigadier General. Dana was a graduate of West Point, had served in the Mexican War, but resigning from the regular army in 1855, had located in St. Paul, where he had established himself as a banker.

On the twenty-first of October the regiment formed a part of the force under command of General Chas. P. Stone that crossed the Potomac at Edwards Ferry, in cooperation with the movement of Colonel E. D. Baker, whose command met with disaster, and who was himself killed at the Battle of Balls Bluff. The regiment was not brought actively into action, but it performed hazardous and valuable service in aiding to secure the orderly retreat of its own command in recrossing the river after Baker's defeat. February 25, 1862, the regiment left its winter quarters at Camp Stone and, as a part of Sedgwick's Division, moved via Harpers Ferry on an expedition up the valley. This proved a trying campaign, though without serious encounter with the enemy. Late in March the expedition was abandoned, and the regiment returned to Washington; in the meantime, Colonel Dana having been promoted, Alfred Sully became Colonel of the regiment. Sully was also an old regular, a graduate of West Point, who had served with distinction in the Mexican and border Indian Wars.

On the twenty-ninth of March the regiment moved by steamer down the Chesapeake to join the army being organized for operations on the Peninsula. It participated with the Second Corps in various reconnoissances in the vicinity of Yorktown and along York River, doing severe campaign duty, but little fighting until the Battle of Fair Oaks on the thirty-first of May. In this engagement the regiment held an important position against the attack of the enemy, which was repulsed with but slight loss to the regiment. In the seven days' battles which resulted in the retirement of the Union Army to Harrison's Landing, the First Minnesota was engaged in the fight at the Peach Orchard early in the day of June 29. The brunt of the Confederate attack falling on troops to the right of the position it occupied, the regiment was spared material loss, but later in the day, near Savage Station, in repelling an attack of the enemy, which was made with much persistence, the regiment had forty-eight killed and wounded. The following day the regiment was hurriedly dispatched to reenforce troops heavily engaged near Glendale, but deployed into position too late to

participate in the heaviest work of the battle; in time, however, to encounter a fire that wounded some of its members, among whom was Captain William Colvill, who received a serious wound in the breast. In the severe conflict at Malvern Hill July 1, the First Minnesota was in position near the right of the line of the Union Army, somewhat remote from the point at which the enemy made his main attack, and hence, did not become heavily engaged. The following day it retired with the army to Harrison's Landing.

On the sixteenth of August the regiment moved with its command under orders to reenforce the army under General Pope, who was then confronting a formidable Confederate force near Washington. Landing at Alexandria, Virginia, on the twenty-eighth of August, it was at once pushed to the front, and on the first of September performed efficient service at Flint Hill in protecting the rear of Pope's forces that had suffered serious defeat and were retiring on Washington.

In the "Maryland Campaign" which was undertaken upon the reorganization of the army after General Pope's defeat, the First Minnesota moved with the Second Corps and was present at the Battle of South Mountain September 14. Coming on the field, however, at night, after the battle was practically over, it was not engaged beyond light skirmishing; but at Antietam on the seventeenth, the regiment was in the thickest of the fight, losing 147 men in killed and wounded. In this battle its position was in the front line of the extreme right of the army which advanced in three lines of battle. Encountering the Confederates posted in a body of timber, the latter were rapidly driven back upon open ground beyond, when strong reenforcements came to their support. A severe engagement followed, which became general all along the line. A gap in the line some distance to the left gave the enemy opportunity to deliver a flank attack upon Sedgwick's Division, under which the regiments to the left of the First Minnesota recoiled; the latter, however, maintained its position until ordered to retire, which it did in good order, holding the enemy at bay by the delivery of several volleys in its movement to the rear, and until reen-

forcements came to its relief. Remaining on the field of Antietam for several days the regiment moved with its division on the twenty-second to Harpers Ferry, where it encamped on Bolivar Heights. While here another change in the field officers of the regiment occurred. Colonel Sully having been appointed Brigadier General, Lieutenant Colonel George N. Morgan was promoted Colonel, Major William Colvill Lieutenant Colonel, and Captain Chas. P. Adams Major.

October 16 the regiment participated in a reconnoissance up the Shenandoah Valley and later in the month crossed the Shenandoah and moved up Loudon Valley at the base of the Blue Ridge; from thence, during November, moving to Falmouth, opposite Fredericksburg on the Rappanhannock. It participated with its division in important movements incident to the Battle of Fredericksburg, December 13, without becoming seriously engaged, though occupying exposed positions, and by its example of discipline adding to the morale of the command to which it was attached. The army remained practically inactive during the balance of the winter, but on the twenty-seventh of April, 1863, the movement began which culminated in the Battle of Chancellorsville. As in the Battle of Fredericksburg the First Minnesota escaped severe fighting at Chancellorsville May 3, but participated in maneuvers that became important factors in the general combinations of the battle field. The casualties of the regiment were nine men wounded at Fredericksburg and fifteen wounded at Chancellorsville. May 5, Colonel Morgan resigned, increasing ill health having rendered him unfit for farther service. The vacancy was filled by the promotion of Lieutenant Colonel William Colvill.

The movement of the Confederate General R. E. Lee in June, on his proposed invasion of "the enemy's country," caused the Union forces to concentrate for the counteracting of a danger that presented possibilities of great disaster. Moving on somewhat parallel lines the Union forces marched northward, the Second Corps, to which the First Minnesota was attached, crossing the Upper Potomac at Edwards Ferry on the twenty-sixth of June. Continuing the march, the vicinity of Gettys-

burg, Pennsylvania, was reached early on the morning of the second of July, where the Army of the Potomac was deployed upon a field that was to be made historic for all time by the events that were to follow. The Second Corps now commanded by General W. S. Hancock was given a position to the left of the Gettysburg Cemetery, its left joining General Sickles' Third Corps, whose line extended to Little Round Top, one of the marked salients of the battle field. This part of the line, though under fire, did not become actively engaged until the early afternoon of the second, when Sickles advanced the Third Corps a half mile or more to the vicinity of "Devils Den" where he was furiously attacked by a strong force of the enemy. In the meantime the First Minnesota had been detached from its proper command and sent to the support of a battery posted near the center of the position vacated by the Third Corps in its advance. The heavier columns of Longstreet and Hill that Sickles had encountered, succeeded in breaking the lines of the Third Corps and in their recoil the command dissolved into disorganized fragments impossible to control. As the fugitive mass passed near the position occupied by the First Minnesota, General Hancock, who had come upon the field and was endeavoring to rally Sickles' retreating forces, ordered the regiment to charge the pursuing Confederates. It was a forlorn hope. The regiment numbered, as it stood upon the field, but 262 men; there was no other force in the immediate vicinity, but without a moments hesitation Colonel Colvill giving the order to charge, the regiment moved against a mass of the enemy numbering many thousands. The Confederate advance became somewhat disordered in crossing the bed of a dry brook at the foot of a slope, at the moment when the First Minnesota with leveled bayonets struck it with a monentum that was staggering. The enemy recoiled upon his supports; his advance was checked and held at bay until reserves came to the rescue. When the regiment was recalled it brought but forty-seven of its numbers off the field, but it had performed a duty of the most heroic character and a service, the importance of which it is impossible to estimate. In the morning of July 3, the regiment was joined

by Company "F" that had been on detached duty, and by a number of the men who had been detailed on special service, and restored to its proper command, aided in repulsing the notable charge of the Confederate General Pickett in which the First Minnesota suffered an additional loss of seventeen killed and wounded. The total loss of the regiment in the battles of Gettysburg July 2 and 3, was sixty-three killed or mortally wounded, and one hundred and three wounded, among which were five commissioned offiicers killed and ten wounded. Captains N. S. Messick, W. B. Farrell, Louis Miller, Joseph Periam and Lieutenant Farrar were killed. Captain Chas. H. Mason and David B. Demerest subsequently died of their wounds. Colonel William Colvill, Lieutenant Colonel Charles P. Adams, Major Mark W. Downie and five other officers were wounded.

The regiment now under command of Captain H. C. Coates following with the army parallel routes with the Confederates in their retirement into Virginia, reached the Rappahannock near Kelly's Ford late in July.

August 15, the regiment was ordered to New York City with other troops to aid in maintaining order in that metropolis pending the enforcement of the draft. September 6 it returned to the front and rejoined its command at Culpepper, Virginia.

At Bristow Station, October 14, it had a spirited rencontre with the enemy, in which it captured 322 prisoners, five cannon and two colors, suffering a loss of one killed and sixteen wounded. It occupied a position in the action at Mine Run November 30, that at one period of the affair presented the prospect of very serious work, but from the effect of which it was fortunately spared by a change in the plans of the Corps Commander.

This ended the field service of the regiment, its term of three years having about expired. February 5 it was ordered home for muster out, where on April 28, 1864, at Fort Snelling, the men were discharged, except such as had reenlisted as veterans, and a few whose terms had not yet expired. These, with some recruits, were organized into two companies and designated as the "First Battalion Minnesota Infantry Volunteers."

This organization was ordered to the Army of the Potomac, and under command of Captain Farrell reported at the White House on the Pamunky River June 1, 1864, where it was assigned to the First Brigade, Second Division of the Second Army Corps, the same position in the army that had previously been occupied by the First Regiment.

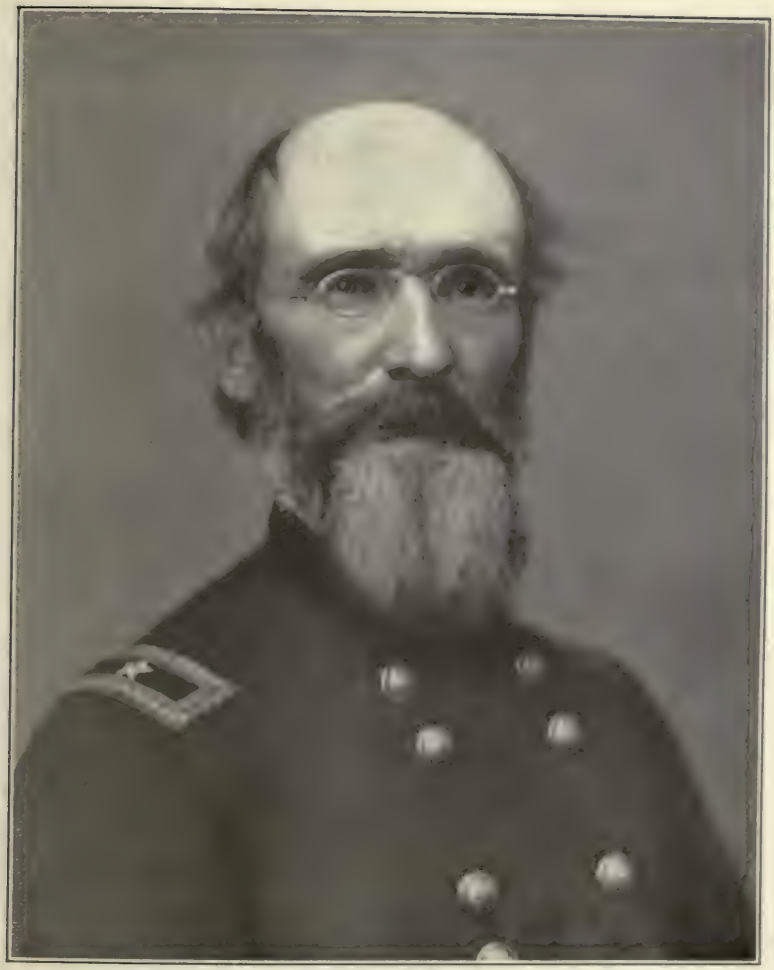
June 18 the battalion participated in an unsuccessful assault on the enemy's lines in front of Petersburg, in which it suffered a loss of two killed, thirteen wounded and twenty prisoners. Early in August the Second Corps was moved to Deep Bottom on the James River, where the battalion with its brigade became engaged with the enemy on the fourteenth suffering a farther loss of seven killed and many wounded. Again on the twenty-fourth of August in a fight at Reams Station, the battalion was farther decimated by the loss of one killed, three wounded and fifteen captured. In all of these actions the battalion sustained the well earned reputation of the First Regiment for courage, efficiency and discipline.

Late in October the Second Corps performed some hard fighting at Hatchers Run in which the battalion participated, but fortunately escaped with but slight loss. It took part in the final assault on the enemy's works at Petersburg on the first and second of April, 1865, and in the several actions in which the Second Corps was engaged up to the surrender at Appomattox, with a loss of but a few men wounded.

The battalion having been largely increased in numbers by the addition of other companies and recruits, Mark W. Downie was commissioned Lieutenant Colonel and assumed command. In June it returned to Washington and from there ordered to Louisville, Kentucky, where for a brief period it became a part of the Army of the Tennessee. In July it was ordered to Minnesota for muster out of service, receiving its discharge at Fort Snelling, July 15, 1865.

SECOND REGIMENT OF INFANTRY.

The patriotic wave that swept over the country immediately following the surrender of Fort Sumter had brought tenders to



HORATIO P. VAN CLEVE

the Government of men for its defense far in excess of the 75,000 to which President Lincoln's first call for volunteers was limited. In Minnesota there were several companies organized in addition to those constituting the First Regiment. They could not then be accepted, but they generally maintained their organizations in anticipation of a farther call of the Government. When in June, 1861 President Lincoln's second call for volunteers was issued, there was ready the nucleus of another regiment and in a few weeks the Second Regiment of Minnesota Infantry was mustered into the United States Military service.

The regiment was organized July 22, 1861, by the appointment of H. P. Van Cleve as Colonel, James George as Lieutenant Colonel, and Simeon Smith as Major. Major Smith was soon appointed a paymaster in the army, and Alexander Wilkin was made Major of the regiment in his place. Colonel Van Cleve had been an officer in the regular army and Lieutenant Colonel George and Major Wilkin had served as volunteer officers in the Mexican War. The regiment was therefore well equipped with experienced field officers. The several companies of the regiment, like those of the First, were recruited at different points throughout the State, most of them coming from the more populous counties.

A restless condition developing among the Indian tribes located on the frontier of the State, made necessary the detachment of several companies of the regiment for garrisons at Fort Ridgely, Ripley and Abercrombie. It was not, therefore, until October 14 that the regiment was ordered to the front. The orders under which it left the State designated its first station to be Washington, District of Columbia. While en route at Pittsburg, on the eighteenth, it received orders diverting it to Louisville, Kentucky, where it arrived on the twenty-second, and from thence moved to Lebanon Junction, thirty miles south, the same day. Some weeks were spent in this locality, where the regiment acquired much proficiency in field service while drilling and in the performance of the routine of camp and guard duties. Here the Second Minnesota was brigaded with the

Twenty-fifth and Ninth Ohio, and the Eighty-seventh Indiana regiments, becoming a part of the Third Brigade, Sixth Division of the Army of the Ohio, commanded respectively by Generals R. L. McCook, George H. Thomas and D. C. Buell. In the early part of January, 1862, the regiment was engaged with the army in an advanced movement southward, during which it was subjected to a severe test of endurance in its first experience on a hard campaign in exceptionally bad weather. On the latter date Thomas' Division reached the vicinity of Mill Spring on the Cumberland River, a point within a few miles of an entrenched Confederate camp occupied by a division of troops commanded by General Zollicoffer. Dispositions were made in anticipation of a possible attack of the enemy, which occurred early on the morning of the nineteenth. This was the opening of what is known in history as the Battle of Mill Springs, the first fight in which the Second Minnesota participated, but in which the regiment performed distinguished service, and established its reputation as one of the most reliable in an emergency in the Army of the Ohio. It withstood without flinching, and repulsed a determined assault of the enemy in which the fighting became hand to hand, and was only decided by the courage and superior staying qualities of the Second Minnesota and their comrades of General Thomas' force. The forces engaged were not large, but it was a decisive Union victory, the enemy being routed and scattered, his entrenched camp with its contents, much artillery and many prisoners being captured. The loss of the regiment was twelve killed and thirty-three wounded.

The regiment remained in the vicinity of the scene of its recent achievements until the tenth of February, when moving with its division it marched northward, reaching Louisville on the twenty-fifth. There it embarked on steamers and was conveyed via the Cumberland River to Nashville, Tennessee, where it disembarked and encamped near the city on the fourth of March.

On the sixteenth of March, 1862, the Army of the Ohio, which had been concentrated in the vicinity of Nashville, commenced its movement southward to co-operate with the forces

under General U. S. Grant that were gathering at Savannah and Pittsburg Landing, Tennessee, for a contemplated movement against Corinth, Mississippi, then occupied by a large Confederate army. While the Army of the Ohio, under General Buell, was struggling in bad weather to make progress toward the front, the Battle of Shiloh was fought April 6 and 7, 1862. The division to which the Second Minnesota was attached did not reach Savannah until the eighth, too late to take part in the battle. In the subsequent advance on Corinth the regiment was present with its command, participating in the operations resulting in the investment of the place, its occupation May 30, and the pursuit of the enemy after its evacuation. Pending these movements Colonel Van Cleve had been appointed a Brigadier General which was followed by the promotion of Lieutenant Colonel James George, Major Alexander Wilkin, and Captain J. W. Bishop, respectively, to the Colonelcy, Lieutenant Colonelcy, and Majorship of the regiment.

Leaving the vicinity of Corinth June 22, the regiment moved eastward along the Memphis and Charleston Railroad, aiding in the restoration of such parts of the road as had been destroyed by the enemy. Passing through Athens, Alabama, August 3, the command turned northward, arriving at Winchester, Tennessee, on the seventh. Remaining here for a few days, the movement was continued until Nashville, Tennessee, was reached on the seventh of September. In the meantime Lieutenant Colonel Wilkin had been appointed Colonel of a new regiment just organized in Minnesota, and in consequence Major Bishop was made Lieutenant Colonel, and Captain J. B. Davis, Major of the Second Regiment.

The Confederate General Bragg had now commenced his campaign northward from Chattanooga, and the Union Army of the Ohio, under General Buell, moving on parallel lines from Nashville northward, was expected to intercept Bragg's movement and turn him back. The campaign that followed was one of the most trying in which the Second Regiment participated during its term of service. From the fourteenth of September, when the march from Nashivlle began, until its arrival in Louis-

ville two weeks later, it was required to make forced marches every day in intolerable heat, and across a country parched by a protracted drouth.

Buell reached Louisville ahead of Bragg and on the first of October his army moved from its lines about Louisville against the Confederate forces. Bragg retired to Perryville, where the severe battle of that name was fought on the ninth of October. The Second Minnesota was in position and under fire during the battle, but did not become actively engaged. Following the Confederate defeat at Perryville the regiment, after participating in the pursuit of the enemy for a few marches, was detached from the main army and employed for a time in various expeditions in middle Tennessee, made necessary by the raiding movements of the Confederate General, John H. Morgan, whose activity much embarrassed the Union forces and deranged the plans of General Rosecrans, who had superceded General Buell in the command of the army on the thirtieth of October. The following winter and spring months were consumed in this kind of vexatious and wearing service, without much serious conflict with the enemy, though at Triune, Chapel Hill and Tullahoma some lively skirmish fighting was experienced. In August the regiment joined in the movements that led to the occupation of Chattanooga by General Rosecrans on the eighteenth of September, 1863.

On the battle field of Chickamauga the Second Minnesota greatly distinguished itself, being in position both on the nineteenth and twentieth of September where the fighting was severest and where the most decisive contests raged. On the nineteenth, near the Kelly House, with other regiments of Van Cleve's old brigade (now commanded by Colonel Van Derveer), the Second Regiment stood as a breakwater against which the enemy's lines were dashed in vain. Assailed upon the flank, as well as in front, it successively repelled the assaults of the enemy by changing front as the immediate exigency demanded, and thus formed a rallying point for such fragments of nearby regiments as had lost their organization; and maintained its position until the fighting in that part of the field had ceased, and until

ordered to a new position. On the morning of the twentieth the regiment with its brigade was in a reserve position until about nine A. M., when it was hurriedly moved to a threatened point just as the enemy made a flank attack, which must have resulted disastrously to the Union forces but for the timely presence of the brigade where the danger threatened. Though required to change front under fire to meet an attack from ambush, the assault was repulsed after a stubborn encounter. Directly following this action the brigade was moved to Horse Shoe Ridge or Snodgrass Hill, where the final decisive fighting of the day occurred late in the afternoon. Immediately under the eye of the "Rock of Chickamauga" the Second Regiment stood like the rock itself, repelling assault after assault of the enemy, until night closed the contest. During the night the army retired to Rossville and from thence next day to Chattanooga.

In the Battle of Chickamauga the Second Minnesota lost thirty-five men killed, one hundred and thirteen wounded and fourteen captured, the latter constituting a detail that had been left in care of the wounded. The brigade commander, in his official report in commendation of the conduct of the regiment, remarked that "It is a noticeable fact that the Second Minnesota regiment had not a single man among the missing, or a straggler, during the two days engagement." Though the result on the field of Chickamauga was somewhat in the nature of a drawn battle, yet the retirement of the Union Army to Chattanooga, and the immediate occupation of the battle field by the Confederates, gave the latter a basis for their claim of having achieved a substantial victory. Rosecrans retired his lines to a defensive position near Chattanooga, which was at once confronted by the Confederates, whose investing lines enveloped the strategic positions of Lookout Mountain and Mission Ridge. Here for two months the two armies faced each other. The Confederates being near their base of supplies, were in comparative comfort regarding their essential needs, but the Union Army being far from its base and its line of supply leading by a difficult and tortuous route over the mountains to the rear,

became reduced to short rations for men and animals, and a greatly insufficient supply of clothing and general equipage.

October 19 General Rosecrans was superceded in command of the Army by General George H. Thomas, and a general reorganization taking place, the Second Regiment became a part of the Second Brigade, Third Division of the Fourteenth Army Corps. A new line of supply via the Tennessee River was opened by November 1, and large reenforcements having come to the army, a forward movement was ordered on the twenty-third by General Grant, who was now in command. There was considerable fighting on the twenty-fourth, but on the twenty-fifth the two armies became generally engaged in the spectacular Battle of Mission Ridge. The Second Minnesota in the battle was deployed in advance of the main line and was the first to enter the most advanced line of the enemy's defences in its front, which ran along a secondary ridge in front of and parallel to the main defences on the crest of Mission Ridge. Carrying this advanced position with but little delay, the retiring Confederates were followed across the intervening space to the foot of Mission Ridge, where it was expected and so far as orders had been issued, it was intended, that a halt for realignment would be made. But there was no appreciable halt. The momentum acquired by the successful charge across the enemy's first position, and the enthusiasm of the men consequent upon their recent achievement, carried them onward and upward in the face of the belching artillery and the roaring musketry of the enemy, sheer six hundred feet along the precipitous cliff to its crest, where, clubbing their muskets, they beat back the now disconcerted and dismayed Confederates, capturing their main line of defense with its artillery, and many of its defenders. The battle was won. Bragg with his broken army retiring rapidly southward into the mountains of Georgia.

Owing to the absence of two companies on detached service and other details from the regiment, the Second Minnesota took but one hundred and eighty-five officers and men into the Battle of Mission Ridge. It lost thirty-nine in killed and wounded, more than twenty per cent of its whole number. Of seven non-

commissioned officers in its color guard all but one were killed or wounded. Its Brigade Commander in his official report of the battle said: "Especial credit is due Lieutenant Colonel Bishop for the management of his regiment when skirmishing in front of the brigade, and for the gallant manner in which his command carried the rifle pits at the foot of the ridge."

The regiment remained in the vicinity of Chattanooga several weeks during which about eighty per cent of its members reenlisted as veterans. This entitled the men to a furlough of thirty days with transportation to their homes. On the eighth of January, 1864, the veterans left the army on their "vacation," reaching Minnesota in mid-winter. On the third of March it started on its return, its ranks having been swollen by many recruits. It reached the front April 10, rejoining its old command in the vicinity of Ringgold, Georgia.

The army was now preparing for the Atlanta campaign, the forward movement beginning on the seventh of May. The Second Regiment was in all the important movements by which General Sherman successively and successfully flanked the Confederate army and compelled its retirement southward all the way to Atlanta. Though often at the front and under fire, it did not become heavily engaged in any of the several battles that marked the progress of the Atlanta campaign. In an action near Kenesaw Mountain the regiment lost one officer killed and eleven men wounded. It participated in the Battle of Jonesboro September 1, but escaped without casualty. In operations following the evacuation of Atlanta the regiment made a hard campaign northward as far as Kingston, returning thence to Atlanta in time to join the grand army on its historic march to the sea.

General Sherman was practically unopposed in his march from Atlanta to the defenses of Savannah, Georgia—November 15 to December 12—when Fort McAllister was reached, no enemy appearing in sufficient force to sensibly check his advance to the seacoast. The movement, however, had a powerful moral effect upon current events of the war, as it demonstrated the exhausted condition of the Confederacy, and its inability to farther rally in its defence.

The Second Minnesota had an experience common with the army as a whole in this campaign, without special exciting incident, except a lively brush with the enemy's cavalry on the eighth of December, in which one of its men was mortally wounded. After the occupation of Savannah it remained in the vicinity until January 20, 1865, when the "Campaign of the Carolinas" began.

In a military sense, Sherman's movement northward through the Carolinas was a much greater achievement than his "March to the Sea." Here he encountered a very different and a much more difficult problem in the solution of which his versatile genius as a strategist was demonstrated in a marked degree. In the face of a considerable force of the enemy that had now been concentrated to oppose him, he pushed his army to Goldsboro, North Carolina, a distance of four hundred and eighty miles, through a difficult country owing to its intersection by many large streams, maneuvering on his way in a manner to force the evacuation of Charleston, South Carolina, and other strategic points held by the Confederates, and winning the considerable Battle of Bentonville while en route. No doubt the rapid approach of Sherman's army towards the Virginia border hastened the crisis in front of Richmond, and contributed to the rapid succession of events that immediately preceded the close of the war. The Second Regiment saw much hard service in this campaign. The elements seemed to conspire with the enemy in making progress difficult. It was present at the Battle of Bentonville, though but moderately engaged. It reached Goldsboro in a condition of dilapidation, but with its morale unimpared. Here it received a new outfit and many recruits. Colonel George had some months previously resigned, his health having become much broken, which left the command of the regiment to Lieutenant Colonel Bishop. The latter had been commissioned Colonel, but could not be mustered as such by reason of the material decimation of the regiment. The addition of these recruits gave the required minimum for a full field organization, and J. W. Bishop, C. S. Uline and John Moulton were respectively mustered as Colonel, Lieutenant Colonel and Major.

Leaving Goldsboro early in May the regiment moved with its proper command northward through Richmond, Virginia, and across many of the historic fields on which the Army of the Potomac had fought, to Washington, District of Columbia, where it participated in the grand review of the army on the twenty-fourth of May, 1865.

Leaving Washington on the fifteenth of June the regiment moved to Louisville, Kentucky, and on the tenth of July it proceeded from thence to Minnesota, where it was discharged from service at Fort Snelling, July 20, 1865.

Chapter VII.

MINNESOTA IN THE CIVIL WAR.

THIRD REGIMENT OF INFANTRY.

BEFORE the Second Regiment had left the State for service at the front, recruiting for the Third Infantry was well in progress, and by November 15 the required ten companies had been formed, and on that date the regiment was organized by the appointment of Henry C. Lester as Colonel, Benjamin F. Smith as Lieutenant Colonel, and John A. Hadley as Major.

Orders had already been issued for the regiment to report for field duty, and on November 27, it left Fort Snelling and moving with remarkable expedition, reached Louisville, Kentucky, two days later. December 6 it was moved to Shepardsville and Lebanon Junction, Kentucky, on the Louisville and Nashville Railroad, where it was charged with the duty of guarding bridges and other vulnerable points on the line of the road, being in the meantime brigaded with the Thirteenth and Fifteenth Kentucky and Ninth Michigan Regiments, as a part of the Army of the Ohio. The winter was spent in the performance of this duty, but in March, 1862, the regiment moved to Nashville, Tennessee, following the general advance of the army after the capture of Forts Henry and Donelson. Similar duty was here assigned the regiment until April 27, when it moved to Murfreesboro, an important strategic point in the heart of Tennessee.

While the Third Regiment had as yet been denied opportunity to show its mettle as a fighting force, it had commanded

much attention from its associates in the army, and had received much commendation from its higher commanding officers for its fine military appearance, superior discipline and the promptness and efficiency with which it had performed every duty to which it had been assigned. Its *esprit du corps* was not excelled by any regiment of the army, and as a body it was eager for an opportunity to establish a reputation on the firing line. If the regiment had been properly officered and commanded there can be no doubt but that it would have acquitted itself with credit in the emergency that overtook it at Murfreesboro, July 13.

Colonel Lester had acquired much reputation as an organizer and disciplinarian, had shown exceptional aptitude for military service, and had the confidence and regard of his men in an unusual degree, but as the event proved, he lacked the first essential of a soldier, courage. He cowardly surrendered his regiment to the Confederate General Forrest without giving it a chance to defend itself. Though a minority of his line officers voted with him for the capitulation, yet it was plainly the assertion of his dominating position that influenced their action, and hence, the responsibility was his. Had Lester possessed a modicum of the courage and spirit of Corporal Charles H. Green of Company "I," who had been left with about twenty men in charge of the camp of the regiment, the Third Minnesota would have been spared the overwhelming disaster of Murfreesboro. Corporal Green, with his little squad, twice repelled a charge on the camp made by many times their number, and only yielded when the Corporal fell mortally wounded. Forrest had but about a thousand men with him at Murfreesboro, and as appears by Confederate official reports of the affair, was almost pursuaded to move forward on his raid, which it seems he would probably have done rather than risk a determined fight.

Immediately after the surrender, the regiment for the moment crushed in spirit and bowed in grief, was marched rapidly to McMinnville, where the men were paroled. The officers were transported to Madison, Georgia, where they were retained three months, and from thence transferred to Libby prison in Richmond, Virginia. Here they were later paroled and sent within the Union lines.

The paroled enlisted men were taken to St. Louis, Missouri, where they were quartered in Benton Barracks until ordered to Minnesota, August 22, to join General H. H. Sibley's expedition then organizing for operations against the hostile Sioux Indians on the frontier of the State. The enlisted men were soon regularly exchanged, and under command of Major A. E. Welch—formerly an officer in the First Regiment—and some of the officers of the Third, who were not present at the surrender at Murfreesboro, joined Sibley's force near Fort Ridgely, Minnesota, September 15.

The principal events that characterized the Sioux outbreak of 1862, are described at length elsewhere in an article devoted to that subject, hence, will be referred to here only to indicate briefly the relation the Third Regiment sustained to some of its important incidents. In the battle of Wood Lake, October 23, which was the decisive action of the campaign for that year, the regiment took a prominent part, in which it manifested fighting qualities equal to the best of troops and maneuvered under fire in a manner that evidenced the highest discipline. It aided in repulsing several attacks of the Indians and held its ground until ordered to retire, executing the latter movement in good order while almost surrounded by their savage enemies. The regiment lost five killed and twenty-six wounded in this action, among the latter being its commander, Major Welch, who was disabled for farther service. General Sibley, in his official report of the battle, says' "Major Welch of the Third Regiment was instantly in line with his command, his skirmishers in the advance, by whom the savages were gallantly met, and after a conflict of a serious nature repulsed;" and the Adjutant General of Minnesota, in his report says: "As the hottest of the enemy's fire was borne by the Third Regiment and Renville Rangers, the heaviest part of the loss was confined to those troops."

The regiment participated in subsequent movements that resulted in the release of a large body of captives in the hands of the Indians and in several scouting expeditions for the relief of localities on the far frontier.

Returning to Fort Snelling in November the regiment was reorganized with a view of its return to the seat of war in the South. Colonel Lester and all the officers who had voted for or counseled the surrender at Murfreesboro, were dismissed from the service by order of the President dated December 1, 1862. Liutenant Colonel Griggs was thereupon commissioned Colonel, Captain Andrews Lieutenant Colonel and other vacancies filled in the line and staff.

January 25, 1863, the regiment left the State under orders to report at Cairo, Illinois, which point was reached on the twenty-sixth. February 3, it moved to Columbus, Kentucky, and from thence to Fort Heiman March 12. Here it was re tained for several weeks, doing arduous duty scouting the adjacent country that was dominated by detachments of the enemy conscripting for the Confederate army.

After General U. S. Grant had completed his incomparable campaign for the investment of Vicksburg, Mississippi, May 19, 1863, his rear became seriously threatened by a Confederate army under General Joseph E. Johnston. That he might be able to cope with this new danger, Grant called to his aid all available troops within reach. Among the reenforcements hurried to Grant's army was the Third Minnesota, which reached the vicinity of Vicksburg June 8. It here became a part of General Kimball's provisional division of the Sixteenth Army Corps, which was stationed at Haines Bluff, on a line confronting General Johnston's army. The regiment remained in this position doing important service until after the surrender of Vicksburg, July 4. On the twenty-sixth it was relieved and moved by steamer to Helena, Arkansas, and from there on the thirteenth of August, it started on a long march with a column under General Frederick Steele up the valley of White River to Devall's Bluff, and from thence across to the Arkansas River at Little Rock, which was occupied September 10, the enemy under General Sterling Price retiring southward without seriously contesting General Steele's advance.

Colonel Griggs had resigned while the regiment was at Haines Bluff and Lieutenant Colonel C. C. Andrews had been

promoted to the Colonelcy. Directly upon the occupation of Little Rock, Colonel Andrews was assigned to the command of the post and the Third Regiment placed on duty in the city as provost guard. The regiment remained in Little Rock for several months and in the State of Arkansas until its term of service was completed. It gave material aid in the movement for the reconstruction of the State, and won the regard of the people of the locality for its strictly soldierly conduct in all respects.

In January, 1864, a large part of the regiment re-enlisted as veterans under General Order 191 of the War Department, and soon thereafter the re-enlisted men were given the customary furlough of thirty days and visited their homes.

Details from the regiment were sent on several scouting expeditions, in all of which they gave a good account of themselves. An important movement of this character was made to Augusta, Arkansas, in April 1864, during which occurred the sharp action of Fitzhugh's Woods. Moving from Little Rock on the thirtieth of March by rail to Devall s Bluff, and thence by the White River to the vicinity of Augusta, 186 men of the Third Regiment with a detachment of cavalry all under command of Colonel Andrews, encountered a force of five hundred or more of the enemy, which they decisively defeated after a sharp and somewhat protracted action, in which the regiment lost seven killed and sixteen wounded. The participants in this affair were much commended for their gallant action, which resulted in an effective disposition of a troublesome detachment of the enemy, that had for a time maintained a reign of terror in that locality, in its efforts to enforce conscription for the Confederate army.

April 28, the regiment was moved to Pine Bluff, Arkansas, near which the movements of the enemy at the time gave prospect of serious work. It did not encounter the enemy in the field, but it lost more men by malarial diseases while stationed here than it would likely have suffered in a pitched battle. More than thirty of its men were buried on the banks of the Arkansas at Pine Bluff and scores were sent to hospitals in a con-

dition of total disability. October 10, the regiment now under command of Colonel Hans Mattson—Colonel Andrews having been promoted a Brigadier General—was moved to Devall's Bluff on White River, a much more healthy locality. From here in December following it participated in another successful scouting expedition to the vicinity of Augusta. May 20, 1865, the regiment moved to Batesville, Arkansas, where it remained until late in August,, when it was ordered home, being mustered out of service at Fort Snelling September 16, 1865.

Governor Murphy of Arkansas expressed his admiration of the Third Regiment in a communication to the Governor of Minnesota in these words: "While they have been on duty in our capital, good order has prevailed and they have won the respect and esteem of the citizens. When called to meet the enemy, they have proved ready for any undertaking and reliable in every emergency. Such men are an honor to the Government and the cause they serve. Their State may justly be proud of them, as they will do her credit wherever duty calls them."

FOURTH REGIMENT OF INFANTRY.

The authority for the organization of the Fourth Regiment of Infantry was included in the same order of the War Department under which the Third Regiment had been organized, and hence recruiting for both regiments were simultaneously in progress. Several companies were mustered into service during the autumn of 1861 and ordered on duty at frontier forts, but the complete organization of the regiment did not occur until December 23 when John B. Sanborn was appointed Colonel, Minor T. Thomas Lieutenant Colonel, and A. E. Welch Major. The later being a paroled prisoner of war and unable to report for duty, L. L. Baxter was later appointed Major in his place.

The winter was spent at Fort Snelling and on the frontier, but on April 20, 1862, the regiment left the State under orders to report to General Halleck at St. Louis, where upon its arrival it was quartered in Benton Barracks. Leaving here on the second of May, it proceeded by steamer via the Mississippi, Ohio

and Tennessee Rivers to Hamburg Landing, Tennessee, near which point it joined the army under General Halleck on the fifteenth, having debarked while en route near Fort Henry, and joining in a scout to Paris, Tennessee.

General Halleck was now engaged in his leisurely advance on Corinth, Mississippi, which was occupied by a large Confederate army commanded by General P. T. Beauregard. The Fourth Regiment having been assigned to the First Brigade, Third Division, Army of the Mississippi, participated in the movements of its command in the advance on Corinth, and in its occupation on the thirtieth of May. The Confederate army retired from Corinth without contesting its occupation by General Halleck, and in the pursuit of the enemy southward, the Fourth Regiment proceeded as far as Booneville, Mississippi, returning thence to the vicinity of Corinth, where the summer was spent in the malarious camps along Clear Creek. Here the regiment suffered much in common with the army generally from typhoid and kindred diseases, losing many men by death and many more by a disability which in a large per cent of cases proved permanent. The regiment felt much relieved when in September the activity of the enemy gave promise of a more congenial occupation than wasting its energies in efforts to overcome the effect of unfavorable climatic conditions.

By the end of the summer many changes had occurred in both the armies that had confronted each other the preceding May. Large detachments had been diverted to other fields, and both Halleck and Beauregard had been assigned to commands elsewhere. General U. S. Grant now commanded the Union army in the vicinity of Corinth, and Generals Sterling Price and Earl Van Dorn the forces of the enemy opposing him; the two armies now numbered about 50,000 and 35,000 men, respectively.

On the eighteenth of September, 1862, General Price occupied Iuka, Mississippi, compelling its hurried evacuation by a detachment of Union troops. General Grant at once concentrated a considerable force which under the immediate command of General W. S. Rosecrans, attacked and defeated Price

at Iuka on the nineteenth in a hotly contested fight. In this battle the Fourth Regiment was actively engaged, holding for a time an important position in the advanced line of attack. At the cost of three killed and forty-four wounded, the regiment, in this its first engagement, performed its full duty under circumstances of a peculiarly trying character. It was required to make important movements and confront an attack after darkness had enveloped the field, and while much confusion prevailed on a part of the Union line, during which it received a severe volley intended for the enemy; a combination of conditions that would put to the supremest test the discipline and nerve of seasoned veterans. Notwithstanding, it fought and maneuvered like regulars, receiving high encomiums from its superior commanders for its notable discipline and efficiency in the battle.

Price retreated from Iuka, but combining his force with Van Dorn's they made a determined attack on Corinth, October 3 and 4, following. General Rosecrans, who commanded the Army of the Mississippi—the left wing of General Grant's army—had concentrated 17,500 men near Corinth with which he confronted the combined force of the enemy. The Confederates won the field on the third, but were decisively defeated on the fourth. The Fourth Regiment was engaged in both days' battle. On the third, occupying with its division the right of the Union line, the various maneuvers required to maintain the line of battle as it was retired towards Corinth, involved complicated changes of formation, and in one instance a spirited charge to hold the enemy in check, in which the regiment, commanded by Colonel Sanborn, was especially conspicuous. In the fighting on the fourth the regiment aided in the repulse of a vigorous charge on the line of its division, holding the position until the fighting ceased. In the Battle of Corinth the regiment lost two killed and ten wounded. It participated in the pursuit of the enemy as far as the Hatchie River, from thence returning to the vicinity of Corinth.

Early in November the regiment moved west to Grand Junction, there joining the column under General Grant in its

advance south along the Mississippi Central Railroad on a projected campaign against Vicksburg, Mississippi. This movement reached a point about twenty miles south of Oxford, Mississippi, when the Confederate General Van Dorn, with a large force of cavalry, appeared in Grant's rear December 20, capturing Holley Springs, his depot of supplies, destroying the large accumulation of stores it contained and breaking the railroad connections in the rear. This caused an abandonment of the campaign and the retirement of the army nearer its base.

The command to which the Fourth Regiment belonged moved to the vicinity of Memphis, Tennessee, where it was retained until March, 1863, when it moved down the Mississippi River and participated in the Yazoo Pass expedition, in which it had a somewhat thrilling experience. Colonel Sanborn in referring to it, says: "The force that went into the Yazoo Pass was in great peril and the enemy ought to have captured it. It could not have been landed anywhere to operate, and there were many points where batteries might have been stationed by the enemy within their reach that would have rendered it impossible for the transports to pass." Returning from the Yazoo Pass expedition, the regiment moved down the Mississippi River and joined the grand army that was being concentrated for the final campaign against Vicksburg.

As a part of the First Brigade, Seventh Division, Seventeenth Army Corps, the Fourth Regiment participated with its proper command in the remarkable campaign that resulted in the investment of Vicksburg, May 19, 1863. It was on the field at the Battles of Port Gibson, Mississippi, May 1, and Raymond, Mississippi, May 12, though not in action. At the taking of Jackson, Mississippi, on the fourteenth, it was in reserve and but moderately engaged, having two men wounded; at Champion Hills, on the sixteenth, the regiment performed important service under fire in aiding to carry a difficult position on which a large body of prisoners was captured, suffering but slight loss in the action. In the assault on the fortifications of Vicksburg, May 22, the regiment suffered heavily in the loss of officers and men. After reaching a position near the hostile works, the

regiment was ordered to move to the left, away from its proper front, to support other hard pressed troops, the latter then withdrawing, leaving the regiment in an especially exposed position. Lieutenant Colonel Tourtelotte, in his official report, says: "No sooner had we taken such position than General Burbridge withdrew his brigade from action under a direct fire from the fort in front and a heavy cross fire from a fort on our right. The regiment pressed forward up to and even on the enemy's works. In this position, contending for the possession of the rebel earthworks before us, the regiment remained for two hours, when it became dark and I was ordered by Colonel Sanborn to withdraw the regiment." This work was done at a cost of twelve men killed and forty-four wounded, some of the wounded remaining where they fell, suffering untold agony until two days later, when the dead were buried and those yet alive removed under a flag of truce. The assault on Vicksburg was repulsed at all points and thereafter the operations bore the character of a siege. With the exception of a few days early in June spent on an expedition up the Yazoo Valley, the regiment remained on the investing line in front of Vicksburg, until the surrender of the place July 4, 1863, when the Fourth Regiment with its division led the troops that were designated for its occupation, in the march into the captured city. It remained on duty in Vicksburg until September 12, when it joined the column under General Sherman, which moved via Memphis east to Chattanooga, to the relief of the army under General Rosecrans then beseiged by the Confederate General Bragg. From Memphis the regiment marched most of the distance to Chattanooga, much delayed en route while bridging rivers and repairing railroads. It reached the lines of Rosecrans' Army on the twenty-fifth of November, in time to participate in the pursuit of the enemy, who was now retiring southward. Returning from this duty the regiment spent some time at Huntsville, Alabama, during which about three-fourths of its members reenlisted as veterans for three years more of service. Leaving March 5, 1864, for their thirty days furlough, the veterans reached home in due time, where their brief respite from exacting service was much enjoyed.

Returning to the army in May, the regiment rejoined its old command at Kingston, Georgia, marching thence in July to Altoona, where Colonel Tourtelotte was placed in command of the post. Here occurred October 5 the notable Battle of Altoona, in which the Fourth Minnesota bore an important and distinguished part. The position had been reenforced by a detachment under General Corse during the night of the fourth, increasing the garrison of the post to about 2,000 men. These were assailed by French's entire Confederate Division of 7,000 men, which enveloped the Union position on three sides. The assault was determined and several times repeated and as often repulsed. It was during the progress of this battle that General Sherman signaled from the heights of Kenesaw Mountain many miles away, the message on which is based the song "Hold The Fort For I Am Coming." Altoona, besides being a base of supplies for the army, was an important strategic position, naturally strong, and was well fortified. Better than all else, it was well defended, and the farther plans of the enemy frustrated by his failure to take the place. The Fourth Regiment had 450 men engaged in the battle, losing thirteen killed and forty-four wounded. Among the trophies the regiment captured were the flags of two Mississippi regiments, which were sent to Minnesota, where they have since remained in charge of the Military Department of the State.

The Fourth Regiment had been commanded by Lieutenant Colonel John E. Tourtelotte since early the preceding year, Colonel Sanborn having been in command of a brigade, and soon after the capture of Vicksburg being appointed a Brigadier General. Tourtelotte was now promoted to the Colonelcy of the regiment and James E. Edson made Lieutenant Colonel. Sometime later Captain L. R. Wellman was commissioned Major.

On the fifteenth of November, 1864, the regiment, now a part of the Third Division of the Fifteenth Army Corps, joined the main column under General W. T. Sherman in the march from Atlanta to Savannah, known in history as "Sherman's March to the sea." The historian of the Fourth Regiment in "Minnesota in the Civil War" characterizes this campaign as "the

picnic through the State of Georgia." In another connection he refers to it as an "excursion;" hence, it may be assumed that the service it imposed was not of the exacting character that had made notable the prior experience of the regiment. Reaching the sea coast with its command December 10, it entered Savannah a few days later upon its evacuation by the Confederate forces under General Hardee. From here the regiment was conveyed by steamer to Beaufort, South Carolina, and from thence joining in the general movement of the army through the Carolinas, it participated in a campaign that tested almost to the limit the endurance of the men. It was an almost continuous fight with the elements for much of the way, and through a country presenting great natural obstacles to the passage of an army. The men waded and swam streams and struggled through interminable swamps at times in face of the enemy, overcoming one apparently insurmountable difficulty only to encounter another before a march was concluded. The regiment passed through Columbia, South Carolina, February 17, reaching Fayetteville on Cape Fear River on the twelfth of March. It was present on the field of the Battle of Bentonville on the twentieth and twenty-first of March, but though at the front and under fire did not become actively engaged. A few days later the army was concentrated near Goldsboro, North Carolina, where it was given a rest and a new outfit.

In the movement northward after the general surrender of the enemy the Fourth Regiment left Raleigh, where it had encamped a few days, April 29, and marching via Petersburg and Richmond, Virginia, reached the vicinity of Washington, District of Columbia, May 20. "On the 24th of May the regiment marched at the head of the column of General Sherman's grand army of sixty-five thousand veterans in the review at Washington, and passing through the city, established its camp five miles out at Crystal Springs."

The Army of the Tennessee was now ordered west, and starting a few days later, the Fourth Regiment moved by rail and river with its brigade to Louisville, Kentucky. July 20, it was ordered home and was discharged from service at Fort Snelling, Minnesota, August 7, 1865.

Chapter VIII.

MINNESOTA IN THE CIVIL WAR.

FIFTH REGIMENT OF INFANTRY.

THE Fifth Regiment was the last of Minnesota's quota under the first call of President Lincoln for 500,000 men. It rendezvoused at Fort Snelling and was recruited during the winter of 1861-1862, the first detachment being mustered into service December 19, 1861, and the organization completed March 20, 1862, when Rudolph von Borgersrode was appointed Colonel, Lucius F. Hubbard, Lieutenant Colonel, and William B. Gere Major. While the regiment was being recruited, its several detachments occupied Fort Snelling, and for a time acted as its garrison, acquiring meantime much proficiency, and a general knowledge of tactics and army regulations, so that upon its organization as a regiment it was fairly fitted to take the field.

Early in the spring of 1862 Companies "B," "C," and "D," were ordered to the frontier, where they acted as garrisons of Forts Ridgely, Ripley and Abercombie, during the spring and summer of 1862, or until the occurrence of the Sioux Indian outbreak that desolated the western border of Minnesota in August of that year. The bloody events of that period of horrors are yet fresh in the memories of the early settlers of Minnesota, but probably have little lodgment in the minds of the larger portion of the present population of the State. To the frontier settlers of the time, and to the surviving members of the Fifth Regiment who participated in the thrilling events that

characterized that period of savagery, the impressions left on mind and heart are more profound and lasting than of the mightiest events of the War of the Rebellion.

Though the history of the Sioux Indian War of 1862-1863 is made the subject of a separate chapter in this work, it is proper to make a brief reference here to its earlier events, inasmuch as a considerable detachment of the Fifth Regiment received the first stunning blow of the savage onslaught, and by its heroism and sacrifice stayed its horrors and saved the more populous portions of the State from the desolation that laid the frontier waste.

In July, 1862, numerous bands of Sioux Indians were gathered at the Yellow Medicine Agency, some fifty miles west of Fort Ridgely, in anticipation of the annual payment of annuities due them, and the distribution of supplies customary on such occasions. The annuity money not arriving when expected, there was uneasiness among the Indians and some demonstration among them of a semi-hostile character. As a precaution, and to provide for a possible emergency, a part of the garrison of Fort Ridgely had been sent to the Agency. A council with the Indians resulted in an agreement that after the distribution of provisions and other annuity goods then on hand, the several bands should disperse to their homes and there remain until advised by the agent that the money due them had been received. Under this agreement the Indians left the Agency and the troops returned to Fort Ridgely, arriving there August 12. On the eighteenth a messenger from the Agency arrived bringing the startling intelligence that a general massacre of the whites was in progress, which was soon confirmed by the arrival of numerous refugees. Captain Marsh with forty-six men of Company "B," of the Fifth Regiment, within half an hour, marched from the Fort in the direction of the Agency.

Evidence of the appalling character of the outbreak was met within a few miles of the Fort, in the form of mutilated bodies of men, women and children lying along the roadside. In the belief that this was the work of but a desperate band of outlaws among the Sioux, and that there was no general up-

rising of the Indians, Captain Marsh hurried on until he reached the ferry at the Red Wood crossing of the Minnesota River.

Here it was disclosed that armed Indians were in force on the opposite bank, though in ambush, apparently awaiting the opportunity to attack the soldiers in mid stream as they were crossing on the ferry. Captain Marsh had his men in line near the river, halted for the moment, while parleying through an interpreter with the Indians across the river, whose spokesman assured Captain Marsh that the Indians were peaceably inclined, and that "there would be no trouble." Evidently impatient of the delay caused by the Captain's precaution, the Indians in ambush fired a volley across the river, killing the interpreter and wounding some of the soldiers. Marsh ordered his men to fall back to a more protected position, but the command had hardly been given when with demoniac yells large numbers of the savages sprang from the grass and thickets in the vicinity and rushed upon Marsh's devoted band. "Here for several minutes ensued a contest at short range and hand to hand most sanguinary, but unequal, the little command holding its ground until nearly half its numbers had fallen, and Indians by the score lay dead." It being evident that he would soon be surrounded and overpowered, Captain Marsh ordered the remnant of his command to seek to gain the thickets along the river to the south, the only quarter not held by the savages, which was done by fifteen of the men. From here along the river bank, which led in the direction of Fort Ridgely, a running fight was kept up for hours. The Indians, deterred by their own heavy losses, fought at long range and late in the day gave up the pursuit. During the night eleven men succeeded in reaching the Fort, many of them wounded, and all in an exhausted condition. Twenty-three of the party that left the Fort in the morning had been killed, besides Captain Marsh, who was drowned in an attempt to cross the river while seeking to elude a detachment of the pursuing savages.

The disaster that overwhelmed Captain Marsh's detachment gave warning to the occupants of Fort Ridgely of a probable attack by the Indians on the Fort itself. This outpost, which

consisted simply of a group of building, stood on a spur of high prairie table land about a half mile from the Minnesota River. Its garrison consisted of the survivors of Company "B" fifty-one men, a detachment of Company "C," fifty men, that had been sent to its relief from Fort Ripley, fifty men of the "Renville Rangers," an independent company, and about twenty-five armed citizens, a total of one hundred and eighty men.[1]

This little band of heroes made the most remarkable defence against the furious assaults of nearly ten times their number, that is recorded in the annals of Indian warfare. Under the command of Lieutenant T. J. Sheehan of Company "C," ably assisted by Lieutenants Culver and Gere of Company "B," James Gorman of the Rangers, and Sergeants Jones, McGrew, and Bishop, they fought their savage foes, whose movements were directed by the able and noted Chief Little Crow, with a courage and determination that has commanded the wonder and admiration of every one who has become familiar with this eventful period in the history of the western border.

The reader is referred to the separate chapter upon this subject for details of the desperate contest continuing from the twentieth to the twenty-second of August, the issue of which was ever doubtful, until the final discomforture of the savages just at night of the last day's fight. The magnitude of the service rendered by these defenders of Fort Ridgely cannot be measured. Had the savages captured the fort, its occupants would have been massacred, and the way made clear for Little Crow to continue his murderous career all the way to the Mississippi River. The desperate stand made at Ridgely and at Amber-crombie, where Company "D" of the Fifth Regiment repulsed an attack some days later, broke the warlike spirit of the Indians, made them hesitate and gave time for the authorities and the people to rally and come to the rescue. Minnesota can never forget the debt of gratitude she owes these gallant men for this timely and effective service.

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[1]About three hundred noncombatant refugees had during the day sought the protection of the fort.

The seven companies of the Fifth Regiment not engaged in frontier services, were ordered south in May, 1862, and on the twenty-fourth of that month reported to General John Pope in the field near Corinth, Mississippi, where they were assigned to the Second Brigade, First Division, Army of the Mississippi. The Regiment had hardly time to establish its camp and realize its surroundings before it was brought into action. On the twenty-eighth of May, four days after it reached the front, it participated in the Battle of Farmington, the most considerable action of the campaign that preceded the capture of Corinth. Though this was its baptism of fire, the regiment bore itself gallantly while aiding in the repulse of a charge made by the enemy, in which it suffered a loss of three killed and twelve wounded.

In the pursuit of the enemy after the occupation of Corinth the regiment was subjected to one of the most trying experiences of its army life. It made long marches in exceedingly hot weather, resulting in many prostrations and an abnormal sick list, while occupying its subsequent camp. The recent change from the exhilirating atmosphere of Minnesota to the enervating climate and malarious conditions of its present location, was so radical and sudden as to cause a serious drain upon the vitality of the men.

Remaining near Corinth most of the summer, in August the regiment was moved east along the line of the Memphis and Charleston Railroad to the vicinity of Tuscumbia, Alabama, its principal duty there being to "occupy the country," in common with the service then imposed upon the army generally. While here Colonel Von Borgersrode resigned and Lieutenant Colonel Hubbard was promoted to the vacancy thus created, Major Gere being made Lieutenant Colonel and Captain Hall of Company "C" Major .

In September the evidence of activity upon the part of the Confederate forces occupying Central Mississippi made necessary the concentration of the army to meet the threatened advance northward of the forces under Generals Price and Van Dorn. In its movement westward towards Corinth the regiment holding the rear of the column passed through Iuka, Mississippi, just

as the Confederate force under General Price made a dash into the town; beyond some lively skirmishing, however, there was no serious encounter with the enemy. General Rosecrans, commanding the Union army of the Mississippi, turned the tables on General Price by attacking him at Iuka on the nineteenth of September, compelling the hasty withdrawal of the latter southward. In this fight the regiment was present on the field, but was held in reserve.

In the battles of October 3 and 4, 1862, when the combined forces of the enemy made a furious assault upon Rosecrans' concentrated army at Corinth, the Fifth Minnesota performed distinguished service at a critical issue of the battle, practically saving the army from disaster. The regiment was detached from its proper command (Mowers' Brigade of Stanley's Division) on the morning of the third of October, and sent to guard a bridge on Tuscumbia River some four miles southwest of the town. The fighting during the day was to the north and west, considerably in advance of the main defences of Corinth, its general result being favorable to the enemy. The ground was desperately contested, but night found Rosecrans forced back into his defensive works, and the enemy in possession of the field over which the conflict had waged during the day. As the army fell back the regiment retired into Corinth, taking a position on the Public Square.

About nine A. M., of the morning of the fourth, the enemy made a determined assault upon Rosecrans' defensive lines, which was firmly withstood at all points, except near the center. Opposite this point the enemy had formed a strong column in mass, which by the sheer force of the momentum it acquired as it charged, crushed and overwhelmed the troops in its front, capturing the works they occupied, and passing onward, was making alarming progress through the Public Square towards the rear of the defences that were yet intact. If this force was not checked and that gap closed, the mass of the enemy would pour into Corinth, and the advantage of its strong defensive works would be nullified by a flank and rear attack. The Fifth Regiment—still detached from its division—was in a position to

act instantly and decisively at the point of greatest danger. From the position it occupied the right flank of the penetrating force of the enemy was presented in close and unobstructed range of its guns, and as it passed the front of the regiment, it was given a volley under deadly aim that cut a swath through the Confederate mass. This was repeated with like destructive effect until the bewildered and disordered enemy recoiled and fell back. The regiment moved quickly in pursuit, halting only when it had reached the line where the break occurred, and where with the aid of the troops now rallied, the Union lines were reestablished. This practically ended the battle, following which the enemy retreated to Holley Springs. Generals Stanley and Rosecrans, in their reports, highly commended the regiment for its effective service on the field of Corinth, where it suffered a loss of seven killed and sixteen wounded.

From Corinth the regiment moved in November to Grand Junction, Tennessee, and there became a part of the army under General U. S. Grant, that advanced into Central Mississippi as far as Oxford, the objective of the movement being Vicksburg, Mississippi. Incursions of the enemy in Grant's rear, and the serious damage inflicted on his line of communications, caused the abandonment of the campaign and the retirement of the army northward.

In December the regiment participated in an expedition through West Tennessee, in pursuit of the Confederate General Forrest. The expedition was characterized more by excessive marching and general privation than in combats with the wily enemy it was pursuing. Returning from this service, the regiment was moved February 1, 1863, to the vicinity of Memphis, Tennessee.

During the winter the army had been reorganized, the regiment becoming a part of the Second Brigade, Third Division of the Fifteenth Army Corps, the latter commanded by General W. T. Sherman. In its brigade the regiment was associated with the Eleventh Missouri, Eighth Wisconsin, and the Forty-seventh Illinois regiments, and the Second Iowa battery of artillery, constituting what became known as the "Eagle Brigade." Some

months later the Ninth Minnesota was added to the brigade. Companies "B," "C" and "D" having been relieved from duty on the Minnesota frontier, here rejoined the regiment, and participated in its subsequent service in the field.

Early in April the Fifteenth Army Corps moved by steamer down the Mississippi River to Millikens Bend, a point on the Louisiana shore, a few miles above Vicksburg, where it awaited the concentration of the army and other dispositions in the plans for the pending campaign against this stronghold of the enemy. The Fifth Regiment while here furnished a large detail for daily service in excavating the canals, which became a feature of the early operation of the campaign. The health of the regiment, in common with such parts of the army as was thus employed, became seriously impaired by this service and its attendant exposures. The locality generated all known species of malarial poisons. The camps, being on low ground, became thoroughly saturated by the heavy rains that for a time occurred almost daily, and as a consequence all the scourges to human life that accompany such conditions were an ever present enemy to be met. The death rate was excessive and the levees along the river affording the only solid ground in which a grave could be dug, became thickly dotted with the simple wooden slab on which the name constituting the final record of some soldier was inscribed.

On the second of May Sherman's Fifteenth Corps moved down the west bank of the river to a point opposite Bruinsburg, where it crossed to the Mississippi shore. In the advance of the army to Jackson, Mississippi, the Fifth Regiment for much of the way held the advance of the column. It had acquired the reputation of being specially effective on the skirmish line, and as the column was being constantly impeded by a body of the enemy, the regiment was kept to the front, a notable recognition of its efficiency.

At Mississippi Springs, just at night of the thirteenth of May, the regiment had a spirited encounter with the rear guard of the enemy that was retiring on Jackson. About three o'clock P. M., of the fourteenth the vicinity of Jackson was reached,

and an immediate assault on the defences of the place was ordered. Here, the regiment resuming its proper position in line, participated in the assault upon and capture of the enemy's defences. In the occupation of the place the regiment was assigned to provost duty, having its bivouac on the grounds of the Capitol Square, and placing its regimental flag for a day on the dome of the Capitol building of the Capital City of the Confederate President's own State. On the morning of the sixteenth, the Fifteenth Corps started on a hurried march towards Vicksburg, where on the twentieth it was assigned to the right of the line of investment.

In the assault on the defences of Vicksburg, May 22, the regiment occupied a position that saved it from serious loss. The broken nature of the ground in its front with its entanglement of fallen timber and dense thicket, made it impossible to move in line of battle. The "Graveyard Road," one of the main thoroughfares connecting Vicksburg with the adjacent country, passed through the position occupied on the line of investment by the brigade to which the Fifth Regiment belonged. It was determined to make the assault along this road, though it was commanded by a formidable earthwork and obstructed by *chevaux de frise*. The assault, therefore, must be made in column by the flank, the same formation as presented by troops in line of march. The Fifth Regiment was upon the left of the brigade, which brought it in the rear, or the fourth regiment in line. In this formation the old "Eagle Brigade" charged at a run along the graveyard road. As the leading regiment, the Eleventh Missouri, with General Mower at its head, emerged from the protected position behind which the formation had been made and became exposed to the enemy's view it was met, and as it moved forward was as if melted down, by the fire in front and on both flanks that was concentrated upon it. Scarcely a man from the right of the regiment to its colors but fell, either killed or wounded. The heaps of dead and wounded men of themselves formed an obstruction difficult to surmount. Though a corporal's guard reached the ditch of the fort—among them the color bearer, who placed his flag on the slope of the work—it

was evident that no considerable number could pass the deadly spot, and hence the order came to desist and seek cover, which was found among the ravines and behind the felled timber on either side of the road. It being demonstrated that Vicksburg could not be taken by assault, dispositions were made for the prosecution of a siege by regular approaches.

The Fifth Regiment was detached with its brigade early in June for duty with an expedition up the valley of the Yazoo River, and at Satartia on the fourth, and Mechanicsburg on the fifth, participated in actions of considerable importance. Upon its return the regiment was sent with its brigade across the Mississippi River to Young's Point, where it served until Vicksburg surrendered July 4, 1863, guarding approaches to the beleaguered place from the Louisiana side of the river. While here it participated in a sharp fight with the enemy at Richmond, Lousiana, in which it had eight men wounded.

After the surrender of Vicksburg, the regiment resumed its position in the Fifteenth Army Corps, participating in General Sherman's pursuit of the Confederate army under General J. E. Johnston, and upon the conclusion of this campaign established its camp on the Big Black River. From here, during the summer and early autumn of 1863, the regiment participated in two expeditions to Canton, Mississippi, and was engaged in actions of some note at Canton, Brownsville, Barton's Station, and on the Big Black River. In November it was ordered to Memphis and from thence to LaGrange, Tennessee, a locality with which it was familiar, where it remained undisturbed by exciting incident until the beginning of the New Year.

Late in January, 1864, the regiment returned to Vicksburg, reoccupying its old camp on Big Black River. It was while encamped at this point that the members of the regiment re-enlisted, almost in a body, for a second term of three years, and thereby became, under the orders of the War Department, in name, what they had for a long time been in fact, Veterans. There had also been further changes in the organization of the army, under which the Fifth Regiment became a part of the Second Brigade, First Division of the Sixteenth Army Corps.

On the fourth of March, 1864, the regiment, with its associates of the Sixteenth Corps under command of General A. J. Smith, embarked aboard transports at Vicksburg, and on the tenth, sailed with the fleet down the Mississippi River bound upon the famous Red River Expedition. At this time the regiment was commanded by Major J. C. Becht, Colonel Hubbard commanding the brigade. The troops disembarked at Simmsport on the Atchafalaya River, March 12, and on the fourteenth assaulted and captured Fort De Russy on Red River, thence moving by the river to Alexandria, Louisiana. While waiting here for the arrival of General N. P. Banks' army en route from New Orleans, an expedition under General Mower, of which the regiment was a part, on the twenty-first captured a Confederate outpost at Henderson Hill, consisting of a battery of artillery and a detachment of cavalry.

General Banks arriving at Alexandria on the twenty-fifth, the next day the movement in force up the valley of Red River commenced. Arriving at Grand Ecore, Louisiana, April 4, the Sixteenth Corps was halted for two or three days; meantime the Fifth Regiment with other troops, under command of Colonel Hubbard, was sent against a body of 2,000 of the enemy posted at Compti on the north bank of the Red River. In the action that followed the enemy was decisively defeated and dispersed. April 7, the march up the country towards Shreveport was resumed, the Sixteenth Corps bringing up the rear. During the afternoon of the eighth a vague rumor came along the line of march that General Banks was having a fight far to the front, but nothing definite respecting its character was learned until, as the Sixteenth Corps went into bivouac that night near Pleasant Hill, the intelligence was received that the main body of the enemy, under General Richard Taylor, had been encountered at Sabine Cross Roads, and that Banks had been decisively defeated, losing heavily in killed and wounded, and in prisoners, artillery and transportation. The worst reports were soon confirmed by fugitives from the front, and the broken fragments of the army as they retired to Pleasant Hill hard pressed by the enemy.

The Sixteenth Corps was ordered into line of battle at two o'clock on the morning of the ninth, to check the pursuit of the enemy, and to perform such duty in connection therewith as events might impose. Awaiting the concentration of his forces, Taylor delayed an attack on the Sixteenth Corps until about three o'clock, P. M., when he made an assault that was easily repulsed. Taylor now massed his forces and threw them with much vehemence against the lines held by the Sixteenth Corps, which had been strengthened by such troops of Banks' army proper as could be hastily reformed and placed in position. Then followed some of the hardest fighting and bloodiest work for the numbers engaged of any battle of the war. Taylor's assaults were several times repeated and as often repulsed, until greatly weakened by his successive failures, he yielded to a counter charge made by the concentrated forces under General Smith, and retired in disorder from the field.

The battle having extended into the night, the exhausted army was allowed a few hours rest, but was aroused at two o'clock on the morning of the tenth, expecting to be sent in pursuit of the fleeing enemy. To its amazement and chagrin, the head of the column was turned to the rear as it moved off the field, and marched as if in retreat from a pursuing force. General A. J. Smith violently protested against what he characterized a cowardly retirement from a victorious field, but Banks' orders were imperative and the army moved back to Grand Ecore.

It developed that Banks' army proper was so badly shattered and demoralized by its defeat at Sabine Cross Roads, that General Banks felt it must undergo reorganization before its farther employment in offensive operations. The retreat of Banks reassured the enemy, who soon made aggressive movements against the position occupied by the army at Grand Ecore.

As conditions developed they seem to have discouraged Banks from a farther prosecution of the campaign, and on the twenty-second of April he moved from Grand Ecore on his continued retreat out of the Red River Valley. The Sixteenth Corps again brought up the rear and at once found business to

attend to in dealing with the enemy. Before it got away from Grand Ecore it repelled a fierce attack made by the enemy in force, and again at Cloutierville, a few miles east, a like movement of the enemy was met in like manner. Indeed, some part of General Smith's command was in line of battle during most of the five days and nights occupied in the retreat to Alexandria.

In all the operations above noted the Fifth Regiment took an active part. From the Battle of Pleasant Hill where it held with Hubbard's brigade the right of the line of the Sixteenth Army Corps, until its arrival at Alexandria, it was in every affair in which its division participated, performing its full duty in every emergency.

Banks' army remained at Alexandria until the thirteenth of May, detained there by the gunboat and transport fleet that was unable to pass the rapids in the river at that point. The boats were finally floated over the obstructions by the construction of wing dams, which deepened the channel sufficiently for the purpose. This accomplished, the army was put in motion on the fourteenth for its final exodus from the Red River country.

By this time the Confederate General Taylor had concentrated a large force in the vicinity, and had occupied the roads on which Banks' army must move. In conseqence parts of the army were habitually in line of battle and often engaged, as it slowly made progress toward the Mississippi River. The Fifth Regiment in this movement participated in action on Bayous Robert and La Moure, on Moore's Plantation, at Mansura, on Bayou de Glaise, and at the crossing of the Atchafalaya River, some of which affairs assumed the dignity of a battle, and in all of which the enemy was defeated.

The mouth of Red River was reached on the twenty-first when the Sixteenth Corps embarked aboard its fleet and moved up the Mississippi. While the corps felt much chagrin at the failure of the campaign, it was relieved by the reflection that it was in no wise responsible for its mistakes, but rather that its presence with the expedition had saved it from still greater disaster.

The retirement of the Union forces from the Red River country was followed by great activity on the part of the Confederates in the Trans-Mississippi States, a condition the Sixteenth Corps was made to realize in its progress up the Mississippi. Near Lake Village on Lake Chicot, Arkansas, the fleet found the river successfully blockaded, necessitating the landing of the troops and the fighting of a stubbornly contested action June 6, 1864, in which the Fifth Regiment suffered a loss of seventeen in killed and wounded. Proceeding on its way the fleet reached Memphis on the tenth. Here the regiment was given its veteran furlough and on the seventeenth took a steamer for St. Paul.

Returning to the front the regiment rejoined its old command near Holly Springs, Mississippi, on the seventeenth of August. While the veterans were taking their furlough, those members of the regiment who had not re-enlisted under the command of Captain T. J. Sheehan, were engaged in the Battle of Tupelo, Mississippi, July 14, in which they acquitted themselves in a most creditable manner. On the twenty-third of August the regiment while acting as rear guard of the column, repulsed a vicious attack by a considerable force of the enemy at the crossing of the Tallahatchie River, near Abbeyville, Mississippi.

Early in September the regiment with its division under command of General J. A. Mower, was conveyed by steamer from Memphis via the Mississippi and White Rivers to Devalls Bluff, Arkansas, and from thence on the seventeenth started on one of the severest campaigns in the history of the war, being subjected at times to great privations, and often to the most exhausting effort. The Confederate General Sterling Price had invaded Missouri with a body of 12,000 cavalry, and was threatening great disaster to the Union cause in that semi-rebellious State. General Mower moved in pursuit, his route leading over the mountains and across the swamps of Arkansas to Cape Girardeau, Missouri, thence by the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers to Jefferson City, Missouri, and from there to the Kansas State line, returning thence across the entire State of Missouri to the city of

St. Louis, altogether covering a marching distance of 795 miles. The average day's march during the campaign was over thirty miles, and in frequent instances a march exceeded forty miles per day.

Leaving St. Louis November 24, the regiment moved with the Sixteenth Corps via the Mississippi, Ohio and Cumberland Rivers, to Nashville, Tennessee, arriving there December 1, 1864, and reenforcing the Army of the Cumberland under General George H. Thomas.

In the decisive Battles of Nashville, December 15 and 16, 1864, the Fifth Minnesota, with other Minnesota troops, bore a prominent and distinguished part. It was at the front in the several assaults in which the enemy's positions were carried during the operations of the fifteenth; and in the final charge in the afternoon of the sixteenth, it was among the first to reach the enemy's fortified line, being at the extreme front when the key point of the Confederate position was carried at the point of the bayonet, and where men and artillery were captured by regiments and batteries.

The most impressive evidence of the character of the work the regiment performed in the Battles of Nashville is the number of casualties it suffered. One hundred and six gallant spirits of the Fifth Regiment were prostrate upon the field when the battle ended. Three of its color bearers were killed and four of its color guard wounded in the final charge. Its ranks were fearfully decimated, but its success had been commensurate with its sacrifice.

General A. J. Smith, commanding the Sixteenth Corps, in his official report referring to the brigade, in which were the Fifth and Ninth Minnesota Regiments, says: "Colonel L. F. Hubbard had three horses shot under him on the sixteenth. Going into action with a total of 1,421 muskets in his brigade, he captured over 2,000 prisoners, 9 pieces of artillery and 7 stands of colors, and the casualties of his brigade number 315."

The campaign in pursuit of the enemy after the battle was an especially severe one, owing principally to the continuous bad weather that prevailed. The regiment reached Eastport,

Mississippi, on the Tennessee River, January 10, 1865, where it remained until ordered to join the Army of the Gulf at New Orleans.

February 7 it embarked with the Sixteenth Army Corps on steamers and moving via the Tennessee, Ohio and Mississippi Rivers reported to General E. R. S. Canby at New Orleans on the twenty-second. Early in March it moved by steamship via the Gulf of Mexico to Dauphin Island at the entrance of Mobile Bay, where it became a part of the army then being organized for a campaign against Mobile. It participated in the siege and capture of Forts Spanish and Blakely, engaging in the assault on both positions April 8 and 9. These were the keys to the defences of Mobile, their capture resulting in the surrender of the city on the twelfth of April. The assault on Blakely occurred the same day that General Lee surrendered to General Grant and was therefore practically the last considerable engagement of the war.

After the surrender of Mobile the regiment moved with the Sixteenth Army Corps to Montgomery, Alabama, from whence the troops were distributed in detachments in occupation of the country. The Fifth Regiment was sent to Demopolis, Alabama, where it remained until ordered home for muster out of service, receiving its discharge at Fort Snelling, Minnesota, September 6, 1865.

SIXTH REGIMENT OF INFANTRY.

The formidable proportions of the rebellion had developed by mid-summer of 1862 to a degree to impress the Government with the necessity of making still greater drafts upon the resources of the country to provide for its defense. There was already in the field an army of more than half a million men, but it had become evident that it was not sufficient to cope with the problem that confronted it. A call for large reenforcements came to the Government from the commander of every army that was engaged in aggressive movements, the response to which was met by a further call by President Lincoln in July and August for

600,000 additional volunteers. Under these calls Minnesota furnished her full quota of men, the recruiting for several regiments being simultaneously in progress.

The Sixth Regiment was organized August 28, 1862, when William Crooks was commissioned Colonel, John T. Averill Lieutenant Colonel and R. N. McLaren, Major.

Pending the final organization of the regiment, several of its companies had been dispatched to the frontier of the State to aid in the suppression of the uprising of the Sioux Indians, which had now assumed alarming proportions. Some of these companies formed a part of the expedition under General H. H. Sibley that relieved Fort Ridgely August 28, and that a few days later were sent to the rescue of the detachment beleaguered by the Indians at Birch Coolie. In the Battle at Wood Lake September 23 the regiment held an important position, some of its companies having hot encounters with the attacking savages during the progress of the fight.

Greatly to the disappointment of its members, the Sixth Regiment was retained in frontier service throughout the operations against the hostile Indians until the summer of 1864, participating in the trying experiences of the frontier campaign of 1863 across the wilds of the Dakotas to the Missouri River, and later acting as garrisons for posts established for the protection of the then far frontier.

On June 14, 1864, the regiment having rendezvoused at Fort Snelling, left for the South under orders to report to General Buford at Helena, Arkansas. The regiment had hoped to be sent to one of the active armies in the field, and agencies had been invoked to secure for it an assignment that would give the regiment opportunity to render efficient service at the front. The exigencies of the service for the moment, however, required the strengthening of garrisons along the Mississippi River, and it became the misfortune of the Sixth Regiment to be stationed at one of the most undesirable locations of this character.

Helena was a point important to be held as affecting the navigation of the Mississippi River; it was, however, perhaps

the most unhealthy location that at this period could be found in all the swampy and malaria infected regions on the Lower Mississippi. The regiment had done valiant service in the Indian campaign on the northwestern frontier, and the men had become seasoned veterans. When it left Minnesota it was one of the most stalwart organizations that had gone from the State, and it reached Helena June 23, 1864, with full ranks, 940 strong, and in all respects in splendid condition. It was retained at Helena until November 4 following, a period of but a little more than four months, during which 72 of its members died and over 600 were sent to northern hospitals, victims of the malarial poisons of the locality. On August 7, barely six weeks after its arrival at Helena, there were but seven officers and 178 men reported fit for duty. Such conditions could but bear heavily upon the spirits of the men. As the historian of the regiment writes: "The regiment fretted and chafed at Helena, consoled with the single reflection that it was as much the soldier's duty to meet disease and death in garrison in obedience to orders, as to serve upon the field of battle."

We do not fail to generously applaud the courage and patriotism of the soldier who faces his fate without flinching as he gallantly charges the enemy's lines, baring his breast to the deadly volleys he knows he must encounter, but a sublimer courage is required to face the approach of the grim messenger through the gloom that pervades an environment such as here enveloped the Sixth Regiment. No compensation of possible glory to be achieved for notable service to the cause for which he risks his life was here offered the soldier to inspire and console him. The emotions are slow to respond to a recital of the sacrifice a soldier makes while he combats and finally succumbs to the dread disease, to whose insidious attacks he is vulnerable at every point. His name is not mentioned in the despatches, nor is it found in the casualty list that illumines the achievement of some great engagement, but none the less his life is given to his country, and his patriotic service is as great, if not so distinguished as the foremost hero of the battlefield.

The regiment was engaged during the summer in repelling a raiding attack upon the post it occupied, and in an expedition

in July up White River, in which it met with exciting incidents, but had no serious encounter with the enemy. While at Helena Colonel Crooks resigned, which was followed by the promotion of Lieutenant Colonel Averill as Colonel, Major Grant as Lieutenant Colonel and Captain H. S. Bailey as Major.

The regiment was relieved from its living tomb November 4, and moved to St. Louis, Missouri, where it remained until the following January, engaged in provost service in the city, meantime greatly recuperating from the debilitated conditions consequent upon its summer experience at Helena.

On the twenty-ninth of January, 1865, the regiment was ordered to New Orleans, Louisiana, where in March following it was assigned to the Second Brigade, Second Division of the Sixteenth Army Corps, constituting a part of the army then concentrating for operations against Mobile, Alabama. It moved with its command March 8 to Dauphin Island at the entrance of Mobile Bay, and from thence, a few days later, to Fish River, an eastern affluent of the Bay, which became the base for operations of the campaign. In the advance to Spanish Fort and Blakely, the regiment had some lively skirmish fighting and in the siege of Fort Blakely performed effective service in the construction of approaches and in sharpshooting duty. In the assault on the Fort April 9, the regiment was among the foremost of the troops to reach the hostile works, though encountering a hot fire from the enemy and passing over exploding torpedoes on the way. It captured the works in its front gathering in a considerable body of prisoners and some artillery as it crossed the defensive line of the enemy it confronted.

The capture of Spanish Fort (which was occupied on the eighth) and Fort Blakely resulted in the surrender of the city of Mobile on the twelfth of April, and proved the end of active hostilities in the southwest.

Upon the conclusion of the Campaign of Mobile the regiment marched with the Sixteenth Army Corps to Montgomery, Alabama, where it remained until the dissolution of the corps early in August, when it was ordered home, receiving its discharge from the army at Fort Snelling, Minnesota, on August 19, 1865.

Chapter IX.

MINNESOTA IN THE CIVIL WAR.

SEVENTH REGIMENT OF INFANTRY.

THE call of President Lincoln in the summer of 1862, for six hundred thousand volunteers, was followed by a patriotic outburst throughout the country that gave assurance of the final success of the Union cause. The response was immediate, every considerable community raising companies and regiments much faster than they could be armed and equipped. In Minnesota five regiments were raised as the quota of the State under the call, all being in process of formation practically at the same time.

The Seventh Regiment of Infantry was partially organized in August, 1862, Stephen Miller being commissioned as its Colonel, and W. R. Marshall as its Lieutenant Colonel on the twenty-fourth of the month, and George Bradley as Major September 5.

The occurrence of the Sioux Indian uprising caused the several companies of the regiments to be sent to the relief of the frontier as fast as they were formed, and hence, some were already in service while others were awaiting their muster in. Four companies reached Fort Ridgely September 2, and were hastily dispatched from there to the scene of hostilities at Birch Coolie, where their presence afforded timely relief.

Under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Marshall the regiment was actively engaged in the Battle of Wood Lake September 23, aiding materially in the discomforture of the

savages by a brilliant charge that practically ended the battle. The Seventh was a part of General Sibley's force that effected the liberation of the white captives at "Camp Release" in October, and subsequently engaged in duty along the frontier until the following summer. In June, 1863, the regiment joined the expedition under General Sibley that drove the hostile Indian beyond the Mississippi River, which resulted in bringing peace and a feeling of security to the Minnesota border.

October 7, 1863, the regiment was ordered South, arriving in St. Louis, Missouri, on the eleventh. Here is was kept on special duty until April 20, 1864, when it was moved to Paducah, Kentucky. There had recently been a formidable movement of the enemy under General Forrest in this locality, and the regiment with other troops had been sent here to reenforce the garrison. Aside from reconnoissance movements, but little active service was performed by the regiment during the few weeks it was stationed at Paducah. In June the regiment was transferred to La Grange, Tennessee, where it became a part of the Third Brigade, First Division, of the Sixteenth Army Corps. Colonel Miller having been made a Brigadier General the field organization of the regiment was now constituted as follows: Colonel, W. R. Marshall; Lieutenant Colonel, George Bradley, Major W. H. Burt.

The Seventh Regiment was now fairly "at the front," and was soon to be given an opportunity to contrast the conditions between savage and civilized warfare. In the battle of Tupelo, Mississippi, July 14, it saw some hard fighting and performed important service. It was in position and most of the time under fire for several hours, finally aiding in driving the enemy from the field, suffering a loss during the engagement of ten killed and fifty-two wounded. Following the Tupelo Campaign the regiment participated in the "Oxford raid" through Northern Mississippi in August, returning to Memphis, Tennessee, late in the month.

September 3 the regiment embarked with its division aboard steamers at Memphis, and was conveyed via the Mississippi and White Rivers to Devalls Bluff, thence marching to Brownsville,

Arkansas. From this point it started on the seventeenth on the notable campaign in pursuit of the Confederate General Sterling Price, in his raid through Missouri. The command crossed the mountains of Arkansas on obscure and difficult roads that had been washed by continuous rains down to their rocky beds. Severe storms prevailed much of the time, entailing great physical effort and suffering upon the men. The pursuit was continued across the State of Missouri to the Kansas line, without a serious encounter with the enemy, and from thence the command was moved back to St. Louis, covering altogether a distance marched of nearly eight hundred miles during the campaign.

The regiment left St. Louis with the Sixteenth Army Corps November 24, proceeding via the Mississippi, Ohio and Cumberland Rivers to Nashville, Tennessee, where it arrived on the thirtieth of the month.

General George H. Thomas had here concentrated an army of about 40,000 men, which was confronted by a Confederate force somewhat larger, commanded by General J. B. Hood. It was evident that a great battle must be fought at Nashville, the issue of which would determine the ability of the Union forces to permanently check and turn back the enemy, who had thus far advanced in his purpose to penetrate northward to the Ohio River. The battle was opened on the fifteenth of December by an attack by General Thomas on Hood's advanced lines, the Sixteenth Corps holding the advance on the right of the Union line. The enemy was steadily driven during the day, several fortified positions being carried by assault, the Seventh Regiment participating with its brigade in the capture of a redoubt that held the key to a strong position. In this affair the officer comanding the brigade, Colonel Hill of Iowa, was killed, the command then devolving on Colonel Marshall of the Seventh Regiment, who thereafter continued in the permanent command of the Third Brigade. In the final charge of the following day against the last position held by the enemy, the Seventh Regiment in line with the Fifth, Ninth and Tenth Minnesota Regiments together constituting a large part of the front of the First

Division—each brigade being formed in double lines—showed its admirable discipline and splendid fighting qualities by its steady advance over difficult ground in the face of a withering fire from infantry and artillery, and carrying the enemy's works with a dash and an impetuosity that prevented anything in its front from escaping capture. It was a brilliant achievement, though won at a serious sacrifice. Seven men killed and forty-eight wounded was the price it paid for its valor. General McArthur, the Division Commander, in his official report, says: "I wish particularly to mention the gallant conduct of Colonel William R. Marshall, Seventh Minnesota Infantry, commanding Third Brigade; called to take command during the first day's battle, his admirable management and example stamp him as an officer of rare merit."

In common with the army generally, the regiment had a severe experience in the pursuit of the enemy after the battle; the condition of the elements, and a long separation from its supply train subjecting the men to much suffering and privation. It reached Eastport, Mississippi, on the Tennessee River January 7, 1865, where it was given a rest, though required for a time to subsist on meager rations, owing to an ice embargo on the Tennessee River; a condition that indicates the severe weather with which the army had to contend.

Early in February the regiment moved with the Sixteenth Corp to New Orleans, Louisiana, where it was assigned to the Army of the Gulf, commanded by General E. R. S. Canby. In March following it moved via Lake Ponchartrain to Dauphin Island, Mobile Bay, and from there to Fish River on which there had been established a base for operations against the defenses of Mobile, Alabama.

On the march in the advance against Spanish Fort, on the twenty-fifth of March, Colonel Marshall was quite seriously wounded by a sharpshooter, but he continued on duty as though nothing had happened. In the siege of Spanish Fort the regiment performed arduous duty in a new line of service. In the construction of the approaches to the enemy's works, it was given opportunity to become familiar with engineering de-

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tails of the military art. It constructed trenches, zig zags, saps, parallels and emplacements according to scientific engineering plans, and kept its approaches well advanced as the siege progressed. It occupied Spanish Fort with its brigade as the Confederates evacuated on the night of April 8, and next day moved in front of the enemy's position at Blakely. Here it cooperated in such service as the Sixteenth Corps generally performed in the capture of Blakely on the ninth, which constituted its final participation in the hostile operations of the war.

Following the surrender of the city of Mobile, which occurred on the twelfth of April, the regiment marched with its command to Montgomery, Alabama, from whence it was transferred to Selma, where it remained until July 20. On that date having received orders to return to Minnesota, it started on its final march homeward bound, and received its discharge from service at Fort Snelling, August 16, 1865.

EIGHTH REGIMENT OF INFANTRY.

Enlistments for the Eighth Regiment were generally made with the expectation that it would be sent South as soon as fully organized, but the exigency created by the Sioux Indian outbreak in August, 1862, resulted in its retention in frontier service until October, 1864.

The call for help and protection from the frontier became so sudden and urgent, that many of the companies of the regiment were hurried to the most exposed points before they were sufficiently equipped or, in some cases, even mustered into the service. This condition much delayed the organization of the regiment. While Minor T. Thomas was commissioned its Colonel August 24, 1862, its Lieutenant Colonel and Major in the persons of Henry C. Rogers and George A. Camp, respectively, were not mustered as such until November 14 and 20 following.

The several companies were continued on outpost and scouting duty along the frontier of the State during the balance of 1862, and throughout the following year while General Sibley made his campaign to the Missouri River. While on this ser-

vice the several companies were widely separated and often broken into squads, being required to cover an extended line. Some of these detachments had exciting experiences with wandering bands of Indians, in which numerous casualties occurred in the regiment, and many Indians placed *hors de combat.* The historian of the regiment makes the statement that "the Eighth Regiment lost more men killed by Indians during the summer of 1863 than the five regiments that composed General Sibley's expedition of that summer."

The Eighth Regiment was at no time together in a body until May 24, 1864, when rendezvousing at Fort Ridgely it was mounted and became a part of the expedition that marched June 5 under command of Colonel Thomas to the Missouri River, there joining the column under General Alfred Sully in his campaign against the Indians through the "bad lands" to the Yellowstone River. The history of that campaign belongs to another part of this work, to which the reader is referred for an account of the many important and exciting details in which the regiment prominently participated.

The regiment returned from its severe campaign through the wilds of the Dakotas and Montana, and along the Yellowstone, reaching Fort Snelling in October, 1864. Its long service upon the frontier had given the men an experience that specially fitted them for the further duty to which they were to be assigned. Thoroughly trained, bronzed and seasoned as they were, they had become veterans in every sense, and could be depended on for any emergency, as subsequent events abundantly proved.

Leaving Fort Snelling October 26, the regiment was despatched in haste to Murfreesboro, Tennessee, then near the center of active hostilities in the West. Here it was asigned to the Third Brigade, First Division, of the Twenty-third Army Corps.

Early in December the Confederate General J. B. Hood, with a large army, en route on his projected campaign to the Ohio River, was threatening Nashville, Tennessee, where General George H. Thomas was seeking to concentrate a sufficient Union force to arrest his progress. Murfreesboro, but a few miles dis-

tant, was an obstacle in Hood's proposed route, and hence, while operating against Nashville, he sent a detachment of his army under Generals Forrest and Bate to endeavor to dislodge and capture or disperse the garrison at Murfreesboro, which consisted of two brigades commanded by General R. H. Milroy. This force of the enemy was met outside the defences of the town December 7, and after a severe engagement was decisively defeated and driven from the field. The Eighth Regiment with its brigade—the latter commanded by Colonel Thomas, made a brilliant charge upon the enemy at the crisis in the battle, which decided its issue. The severe character of the fighting is indicated by the loss the regiment sustained. Thirteen killed and seventy-seven wounded was the sacrifice the Eighth Regiment suffered in its first encounter with the enemy on southern fields.

After Hood's decisive defeat at Nashville, December 16, the regiment joined in the pursuit of the enemy, continuing on his trail as far as the Tennessee River, making many forced marches of an exhausting character.

The Twenty-third Army Corps was now ordered East and the Eighth Regiment, embarking with its command on steamers at Eastport, Tennessee, moved via the Tennessee and Ohio Rivers to Cincinnati, Ohio, and from thence by rail to Washington, District of Columbia, where it arrived February 1, 1865. The corps was under orders to proceed by sea to North Carolina, but owing to an ice blockade in the Potomac, it was detained in Washington some weeks, not reaching the scene of its further service until early in March.

The Corps was expected to join the force operating against Wilmington, North Carolina, but that point having been occupied by the Union forces, the regiment with its division was diverted to Newbern. From here it marched in the direction of Goldsboro, and while en route, encountered, March 18, a considerable force of the enemy commanded by General Braxton Bragg, with which it had a spirited encounter near Kinston. The enemy, after several attempts to impede the march by attacks on the head of the column, finally retired and the command reached Goldsboro on the twenty-second of March, there

meeting the advance of General Sherman's army that had just concluded its campaign through the Carolinas.

When Sherman marched northward through Virginia to Washington, the Twenty-third Corps was left in North Carolina pending the settlement of conditions following the surrender of the Confederate armies. The Eighth Regiment spent some time at Raleigh, moving from thence to Charlotte, North Carolina, where it remained until July, when it was ordered home for muster out, receiving its discharge July 11, 1865.

NINTH REGIMENT OF INFANTRY.

As has been noted in respect to the several regiments raised in Minnesota in the summer of 1862 under President Lincoln's call for six hundred thousand volunteers, the sudden uprising of the Indians on the western border of the State had called into active service their companies as fast as they were formed, in many instances before they were fairly organized; so in the case of the Ninth Regiment, as soon as a company was recruited to the minimum, and often before fully officered, it was despatched in haste in response to an urgent call to some point on the frontier, threatened by the savages. In this way the companies became widely separated and remained in such relation for many months. Although Alexander Wilkin was commissioned as Colonel, Josiah F. Marsh as Lieutenant Colonel and William Markham as Major, in August, 1862, they were not formally assigned to the regiment and its organization completed by official orders until January 15, 1863. The regiment, in detachments, as indicated, continued in frontier service until the autumn of 1863, meanwhile having several sharp encounters with separate bands of Indians, and three of its companies joining in General Sibley's expedition to the Missouri River.

In October, 1863, the regiment was ordered to St. Louis, Missouri, where eight companies reported to General J. M. Schofield on the twelfth of the month. From St. Louis the regiment was ordered to Jefferson City, Missouri, where it was again broken into detachments and assigned to garrison duty

along the Pacific Railroad and connecting lines. It remained in this service until May, 1864, when it returned to St. Louis, there meeting the two companies it had left behind in Minnesota, and "for the first time in its history saw itself together, and held its first dress parade with every Company present." From St. Louis the regiment moved by river to Memphis, Tennessee, where it reported May 31 to General S. G. Sturgis, who was in command of a force then organizing for an expedition into Northern Mississippi. This expedition resulted in disaster to General Sturgis' Army of 8,000 men, and especially to the Ninth Regiment, though the latter greatly distinguished itself by its coolness, discipline and heroism under conditions that subjected the men to the limit of human effort and endurance. In the Battle of Brice Cross Roads near Guntown, Mississippi, June 10, General Sturgis engaged a Confederate force, inferior to his own, commanded by General N. B. Forrest, at whose hands he was not only defeated, but utterly routed, driven in disorder from the field and suffered severely in the loss of men, artillery and almost his entire train of ammunition, baggage and supplies. That he did not lose his army was largely due to the splendid fighting and maneuvering of the Ninth Minnesota. Sturgis was defeated in detail. He attacked the enemy by detachments hurried to the front at double qnick, as they reached the field in an exhausted condition; his flanks being repeatedly turned by reason of his faulty tactics, and his failure to comprehend the significance of the movements of the enemy by which he was compelled to successively yield his positions on the field. The work performed by the Ninth Regiment in the final crisis of the battle is best told by the officer commanding the division to which the regiment was attached—Colonel W. L. McMillan—who says in his official report: "My extreme right, after a sharp and bloody contest, was forced back, and I was obliged to throw in the only regiment I had in reserve to drive the enemy back and reestablish my line at that point. This work was gallantly performed by the Ninth Minnesota under the heroic Marsh, and I desire here to express to him and his brave men my thanks for their firmness and bravery, *which alone saved the army* at that critical moment from utter defeat and probable capture."

The regiment held the rear of the army for a long distance on its retreat, and by its gallantry and persistence much delayed the eager pursuit of the enemy. It had several sharp encounters with a superior force during the two days it covered the retirement of Sturgis' broken detachments, losing many men by capture when sometimes overwhelmed by vastly superior numbers. Colonel Wilkin being in command of a brigade, the regiment operated generally under the immediate command of Lieutenant Colonel Marsh, but the former rendered conspicuous service by skillful dispositions, which resulted in checking at many points the enemy's vigorous pursuit.

In the Battle of Brice Cross Roads, the Ninth Regiment lost nine killed, thirty-three wounded and two hundred and forty-four captured. Of the latter one hundred and nineteen died in the Andersonville, Georgia prison, many of the remainder dying soon after their release from diseases entailed by their imprisonment.

The regiment retired to Memphis, where in the reorganization that followed the recent campaign, it was assigned to the Second Brigade, First Division of the Sixteenth Army Corps, the latter commanded by General A. J. Smith. An effort was now made to retrieve the disaster at Brice Cross Road, which was accomplished in the achievement of a decided victory at Tupelo, Mississippi, won by General Smith July 14, in which the Confederate General Forrest received similar punishment to that he had inflicted upon Sturgis the preceding month. In this battle the Ninth Regiment, though not heavily engaged, lost two killed and five wounded, among the former being its brave and soldierly Colonel, Alexander Wilkin. Colonel Wilkin was peculiarly endowed with ideal personal and soldierly qualities, and was highly regarded by all to whom his superior merits became known. His regiment was inconsolable at his loss and following so soon the disaster it had so recently suffered, seemed an affliction especially hard to bear.

Returning again to Memphis, the regiment started August 2 on what became known as the "Oxford Raid," which, though accomplishing substantial results, was not characterized by much

ALEXANDER WILKIN.

fighting or exciting incident, the expedition returning to Memphis on the thirtieth of August. Here Lieutenant Colonel Marsh received his commission as Colonel, Major Markham being also promoted to Lieutenant Colonel and Captain H. B. Strait to Major.

September 2, 1864, the First Division of the Sixteenth Army Corps, to which the regiment was attached, embarked at Memphis and was conveyed via the Mississippi and White Rivers to Devalls Bluff, Arkansas. From this vicinity it moved on the seventeenth with the expedition under General J. A. Mower, which made one of the hardest campaigns of the war, in pursuit of the Confederate General Sterling Price, which led over the mountains of Arkansas into Missouri, and across the latter State. General Price was raiding through Missouri with a mounted force numbering about 12,000 men, and under the conditions then existing, would probably have inflicted great damage to the Union cause, but for the timely presence and vigorous action, at seriously threatened points, of the Sixteenth Army Corps. While the regiment saw but little of the enemy at close range on this campaign, it aided materially with its command, by means of forced marches and skillful maneuvering, in compelling the enemy to often change his plans and abandon his purpose at important objective points. The regiment covered nearly eight hundred miles of marching distance besides several hundred miles that it moved by water, before the campaign was concluded by its arrival in St. Louis, November 15, on its return march from the western border of Missouri.

Stirring events were now occurring in Tennessee by reason of the invasion of that State by a large Confederate army under command of General J. B. Hood, who was making rapid progress northward; there being no sufficient Union force in the threatened region to materially impede his movements. General George H. Thomas, was organizing at Nashville, Tennessee, such force as could be hurriedly gathered at that point, to take the field against Hood, and the Sixteenth Army Corps being the most considerable detachment "in sight," was forwarded via the Mississippi, Ohio and Cumberland Rivers to reenforce Thomas.

It arrived at Nashville December 1, and was placed in position on the right of the line of defence, which had been established in expectation of an attack by the enemy. Hood had been considerably weakened by a bloody encounter with the Fourteenth and Twenty-third Corps under General Schofield at Franklin, Tennessee, November 30, 1864, which seemed to cause hesitation upon his part in his further operations after he had advanced to the vicinity of Nashville. Meantime Thomas had been sufficiently strengthened to warrant offensive movements by the army he had organized, and on the fifteenth of December he made an attack on the enemy. The main attack was made by the Sixteenth Corps on the right, the division to which the Ninth Regiment belonged being actively engaged throughout all the operations of the day. The enemy was steadily driven, being compelled to fall back from several strong positions which were gallantly charged by the Ninth and their comrades. These, however, were but outposts, Hood's main defensive line being encountered just at night when the fighting for the day ceased.

The decisive action of the Battle of Nashville occurred late in the day of the sixteenth of December, 1864, when a general assault on the enemy's defensive line was ordered and executed with a brilliancy and success not excelled by any similar achievement on any field of the Civil War. An officer of the First Division who witnessed the movement writes of it as follows:

> The hour arrives—four o'clock precisely by McArthur's time; the order goes forth and with a shout that is heard away off in our old lines near Nashville, the division starts for the works before it. * * * Across the corn field, the soft ground giving way until men and horses sink at every step knee deep; under a shower of canister, shell and minie-balls filling every inch of the atmosphere and meeting them square in the face, they keep onward. The works are gained; no faltering yet; and now goes up the flag of the Ninth Minnesota on the works; simultaneously with it the flag of the veteran Fifth—which has been shot down four times in this advance and riddled with a full charge of canister—ascends; the works are carried in front of all the brigades of the Division, and Minnesota holds the position in an un-

broken line of half a mile in extent[1] * * * The whole work—a work that all military men who witnessed it agree in pronouncing a charge of scarcely equaled brilliancy in the annals of warfare—was accomplished in ten minutes time. The enemy was completely routed and driven to the adjacent hills in utter confusion.

The Ninth Regiment lost in the Battle of Nashville ten killed and forty-eight wounded; eight of the latter subsequently died as a result of the wounds they received. In the pursuit of Hood's shattered army to the Tennessee River, the regiment in common with their comrades, were subjected to continuously exhaustive effort under extreme conditions of adverse weather and limited supplies of the necessities of life. It reached Eastport, Mississippi, January 9, 1865, where it remained throughout the month.

February 6 the regiment moved with the Sixteenth Army Corps via the Tennessee, Ohio and Mississippi Rivers to New Orleans, and from thence via the Gulf of Mexico to Mobile Bay, where it was mobilized with the army that subsequently captured the city of Mobile. In the siege of Spanish Fort, March 27 to April 8, the regiment was engaged in all the operations that resulted in the capture of that key to the enemy's position, and was with the reserve at the storming of Blakely on the ninth of April; its casualties in these operations numbering two killed and fourteen wounded.

The regiment moved with its command to Montgomery, Alabama, after the occupation of Mobile, and from thence was sent to Marion, Alabama, where it spent many pleasant weeks, though becoming impatient to return home now that the war was over. July 26 it was ordered to proceed to Minnesota, where it received its discharge, being mustered out at Fort Snelling August 24, 1865.

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[1]Four Minnesota Regiments, the Fifth, Seventh, Ninth and Tenth, were in the First Division, and as the brigades in this movement were formed in double lines, these regiments were brought into a continuous line.

TENTH REGIMENT OF INFANTRY.

While much of the service rendered by the troops enlisted in Minnesota in 1862 did not directly relate to the "Civil War," yet it has been deemed necessary to briefly refer to the earlier experience of such organizations as prominently participated in the Indian War of 1862-1863 that an intelligent idea may be conveyed of the character and extent of the work performed by Minnesota soldiers during the period of 1861-1865. When one speaks of the "War of the Rebellion" he does not ordinarily have in mind any thought of the rebellious conduct of the Sioux Indians in their uprising in 1862, but there can be no doubt that the action of these savages was in a large measure inspired and promoted by the conditions in which the country became involved by the rebellion in the South. They had accurate knowledge of the character of the mighty contest in which the country was engaged, and doubtless believed that the Government would fail in its efforts to maintain its integrity. They saw the stalwart men of the frontier leaving their homes in large numbers for service on distant fields, and they felt that the situation presented to them the opportunity to wreak their slumbering vengeance on the race that was steadily crowding them away from their ancestral homes. Had there been no Civil War in progress there would have been no Indian uprising in 1862; hence the military service on the frontier was as important and was in a manner closely related to the like service in the South.

The companies composing the Tenth Regiment were recruited without reference to their ultimate regimental association, each company being sent to exposed points on the frontier as soon as organized. Though the enlistments were largely in August, the regimental designation was not made until October 18, 1862, when James H. Baker then Secretary of State, was assigned as Colonel, Samuel P. Jennison as Lieutenant Colonel and Michael Cook as Major of the Tenth Regiment of Infantry, and a full complement of companies designated to form their

command. One of these companies then known as the "Renville Rangers," under command of Captain James H. Gorman, bore a distinguished part in the defense of Fort Ridgely August 20 to 22, and still another bearing the name of the "Le Sueur Tigers," commanded by Captain E. C. Sanders, participated in the defense of New Ulm August 24 and 25. Other companies were actively employed at different points on important duty in repelling attempted incursions of the savages, their vigilance and activity contributing much to the restoration of order and repose to the frontier of the State. In the summer of 1863 the regiment constituted a part of the command that General Sibley led in an expedition to the Missouri River. In this campaign the savages were driven far beyond the borders of Minnesota, being hotly pressed until they found refuge in the mazes of the bad lands west of the Missouri. In its progress across the then desert plains of Dakota, the expedition had several exciting encounters with the Indians, though the latter would rarely come to close qaurters. The most important action occurred July 28, near Stone Lake, in which the Indians, to the number of three or four thousand, made a stand and maneuvered as if resolved to retreat no farther. The Tenth Regiment led in the attack on the position here occupied by the enemy, other portions of the command moving in support. Rapid volleys from the infantry line reenforced by well directed discharges from the artillery, by which many Indians were killed, seemed to change the purpose of the savages as they lost no time in retiring beyond range and thereafter made little effort to impede the progress of the expedition.

This was the largest body of Indians that ever confronted an American army. General Sibley said of this action: "The brunt of the conflict was borne by the Tenth Regiment, Colonel Baker in front, where the Indian assault was most gallantly met and broken."

Upon its return from the Indian campaign, the regiment was met at Fort Snelling by orders to report at St. Louis, Missouri. It left on the seventh of October, and, arriving in due time, was quartered for a few days in Jefferson Barracks

near the city. On the twenty-third it was assigned to duty in the city as provost guard, Colonel Baker being placed in command of the post. St. Louis was at the time one of the largest military posts in the country, bearing highly important relations to several fields of army activity in the Southwest. It was a great compliment to Colonel Baker to be assigned to so important a command immediately upon his arrival near the seat of war, but it became later the cause of much regret on his part, as it resulted in his permanent separation from his regiment. When the following April the regiment was ordered to the front, Colonel Baker sought to be relieved of his duties in St. Louis, that he might accompany it, but his persistent requests to that effect were repeatedly denied. It became known some months later that strong influences were invoked by local interests to have the Tenth and Seventh Minnesota Regiments retained in St. Louis as a permanent garrison; the soldierly conduct of these commands, and the efficient discharge of the duties they had to perform, sometimes of a delicate character, had created a strong sentiment among the citizens of the city for their retention. This request being finally refused by the War Department, a final special request was made of Secretary Stanton that Colonel Baker be continued in command of the city. In deference to so pronounced a sentiment, and in view of the excellent record of his administration, this concession was made. Colonel Baker continued in command of the post of St. Louis until July 1, 1864, when his jurisdiction was extended to include four adjoining counties. Subsequently he was appointed by E. M. Stanton, Secretary of War, Provost Marshal General of the Department of Missouri, in which position he continued until the close of the war, rendering highly efficient service in the administration of the complicated and exacting duties of the several positions to which he was assigned.

The Tenth Regiment left St. Louis April 22, 1864, under command of Lieutenant Colonel Samuel P. Jennison, proceeding to Columbus, Kentucky. Here for a few weeks it was engaged in scouting duty, as a counter irritant to the operations of the Confederate General, N. B. Forrest, who was causing much

disturbance in that locality. Two companies were early sent to Island No. 10 in the Mississippi River, where they were retained until the regiment was ordered farther south. June 20 the regiment arrived in Memphis, where it was assigned to the First Brigade, First Division of the Sixteenth Army Corps, in which association it remained until the close of the war.

In July the regiment moved with the Sixteenth Army Corps on an expedition commanded by General A. J. Smith, into Northern Mississippi, where it encountered on the fourteenth, near Tupelo, the forces under the Confederate General, N. B. Forrest, that had the preceding month won a substantial victory over the command of General Sturgis near Guntown, Mississippi. At Tupelo Forrest was defeated after making a stubborn fight, in which the Tenth Regiment became moderately engaged, losing one man killed and twelve wounded. In August a second expedition, under General Smith, moved against Forrest, who, avoiding a close encounter, fell back before Smith's advance. The expedition proceeded as far as Oxford, Mississippi, from whence it returned to Memphis. At the crossing of the Tallahatchie River, on the retrograde movement, the Tenth, in conjunction with the Fifth Regiment, had a spirited action on the twenty-third, with a superior force of the enemy, in which the latter was driven into precipitate retreat.

On the second of September, 1864, the regiment with its division embarked upon the campaign which led via Devalls Bluff on White River, over the mountains of Arkansas, and across the State of Missouri. This "raid after General Price" has been alluded to in preceding sketches of the campaigns of Minnesota regiments, hence it is sufficient here to say, that the Tenth Regiment participated in all the forced marches, excessive fatigue, almost constant privation and exposure that characterized that campaign of October and November, 1864, as one of the severest made by any army of the Union during the war. After chasing the enemy's mounted force from White River, Arkansas, to the vicinity of St. Louis, Missouri, and thence to the Kansas border, the command marched back to St. Louis where it arrived November 15. From here the Sixteenth Corps

was forwarded by steamers to Nashville, Tennessee, arriving December 1, a most welcome reenforcement to the army General George H. Thomas was then organizing to stay the progress of the Confederate force under General J. B. Hood moving northward from the Tennessee River.

In the attack on the enemy in front of Nashville, December 15, the First Division of the Sixteenth Army Corps, to which the Tenth Regiment belonged, held the extreme right of General Thomas' Infantry lines. In the fighting that followed the corps, the division and the regiment performed a succession of valient deeds and each won distinction for what it accomplished.

The Tenth was among the leading Regiments—fully abreast with the foremost—in the assault upon and the capture of the first positions taken from the enemy; followed closely his retirement to his main line of defense, and was at the front when the fighting ceased at night, where Hood made his final stand. Though the first day's work was a substantial success, the victory was not yet won. Hood had retired his army, under a pressure he could not withstand, to where he had previously established a defensive line that was exceptionally strong in its natural advantages and well fortified by entrenchments and redoubts. Attacks on this line early in the day of December 16 made by divisions on the left of the army had been replused. At four o'clock P. M., an attack was made by the Sixteenth Army Corps, which resulted in a brilliant success, the entire line of the enemy being carried along the front of the corps, and large captures made of prisoners and guns. In this assault the Tenth Regiment was especially conspicuous. It was required to move up a steep elevation along the crest of which the enemy held a strongly fortified position, the approach to which was commanded by an enfilading fire upon either flank. The regiment charged this salient point of the enemy's lines and "after a severe and bloody conflict, forced the enemy with bayonet from his works. * * * Every officer and man was at his post and nobly did his duty. Especially did its commander, Lieutenant Colonel Jennison, display a high order of those qualities requisite in an

officer who wins battles over a brave and stubborn foe. * * * In the charge which decided the fate of the day, the last one made, Colonel Jennison fell severely wounded in front of his command."

The regiment was highly commended by its brigade, division and corps commanders for its gallantry in this assault, even General Thomas, who witnessed it, declaring that "it was the handsomest feat of arms I ever saw."

The regiment lost in the Battle of Nashville twenty-one killed or mortally wounded, and fifty-six wounded; among the former were Major Michael Cook and Captain George T. White, two brave and accomplished officers.

The Battle of Nashville was one of the most decisive battles of the Civil War. The Confederate army here encountered was not simply defeated, but it was practically destroyed. It left the field in demoralized fragments and even these dissolved and scattered under the pressure of General Thomas' vigorous pursuit. This battle also decided adversely to the enemy a campaign undertaken under promising conditions, for a purpose, which, if successful, would have seriously effected the Union cause. If Hood had reached the Ohio River, it would have been a fair offset to Sherman's "March to the Sea." It would doubtless have necessitated another levy of troops at a time when the resources of the country, both in men and the sinews of war, were strained almost to the limit. It would have precipitated conditions that might have embarrassed the situation at critical points elsewhere in the country.

The regiment participated in the campaign to the Tennessee River in pursuit of the enemy after the Battle of Nashville, reaching Eastport, Mississippi, January 7, 1865. From here it moved with the Sixteenth Army Corps to New Orleans, Louisiana, where it arrived February 22.

As though destined to "box the compass" of the theatre of war in the Southwest, the regiment was moved from New Orleans via the Gulf of Mexico to Mobile Bay, where it came under the command of General E. R. S. Canby, who was then organizing a campaign for the capture of Mobile.

In its subsequent service the regiment was given an opportunity to acquire practical knowledge of the art of reducing a fortified position by "regular approaches." In the siege of Spanish Fort it performed hard service in the trenches and had its advance parallel close to the hostile works when the enemy evacuated on the eighth of April. Mobile surrendered on the twelfth, after which the Sixteenth Corps marched to Montgomery, Alabama.

In the "occupation of the country" after the close of the war, the Tenth Regiment was assigned to Meridian, Mississippi, where it remained until ordered home. This long expected and most welcome order was received late in July, under which the regiment proceeded to St. Paul, Minnesota, where it was mustered out of service at Fort Snelling, August 18, 1865.

ELEVENTH REGIMENT OF INFANTRY.

The Eleventh Regiment of Minnesota Infantry volunteers being the last regiment organized in Minnesota for service in the South, was sent to the front at so late a period in the war that little opportunity was given it to test its mettle in a substantial encounter with the enemy. It was composed of like material that gave character to and that won distinction in the ranks of its predecessors, and it was inspired by a like ambition to render substantial service to the country, and win glory by gallant achievement. The regiment was recruited during the months of August and September, 1864, and finally organized by the appointment of James Gilfillan as Colonel, John Ball as Lieutenant Colonel and Martin Maginnis as Major.

The regiment left Fort Snelling for the South September 20, proceeding to Nashville, Tennessee. From there it was assigned to the duty of guarding important sections of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad, headquarters being established at Gallatin, Tennessee. The regiment continued upon this duty throughout its term of service. The activity of partisan bodies of the enemy in the locality required the exercise of constant vigilance at all points occupied by the regiment and necessitated

frequent scouting expeditions on the trail of guerrilla bands that were continuously raiding through the adjacent country. In some of these affairs exciting incidents occurred and occasionally an encounter that gave promise of a respectable fight, but generally ended in the precipitate retirement of the raiders. In one of these actions two men of the regiment were killed. "An impediment to effective dealing with the guerilla was the difficulty of distinguishing him from the ordinary inoffensive native, thought it was generally believed by the men that the apparently inoffensive native and the guerilla were, under different conditions, one and the same individual." The service required of the regiment was exacting, requiring the men to be ever watchful and alert, ready at a moment's warning to repel an attack or march in pursuit of the elusive enemy. That the regiment performed its duty well is evidenced by the fact that the important line of railroad it was guarding was operated without serious interruption while under its protection.

The regiment was relieved of this service June 25, and ordered to Minnesota where it was mustered out July 11, 1865.

Chapter X.

MINNESOTA IN THE CIVIL WAR.

FIRST AND SECOND COMPANY OF SHARPSHOOTERS.

EARLY in the war the United States War Department requested the State authorities to organize two companies of troops for special service to be designated "Sharpshooters." Pursuant to this authority the first of such companies was mustered October 5, 1861, and officered as follows: Captain, Francis Peteler, First Lieutenant, Benedict Hippler, Second Lieutenant, Dudley P. Chase.

The company left the State October 6, 1861, and reported in Washington, District of Columbia, on the tenth. It remained here unassigned until February 10, 1862, when it became a part of the Second Regiment of United States Sharpshooters commanded by Colonel H. A. V. Post, and composed of companies from the States of Minnesota, Michigan, Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont. Captain Peteler was appointed Lieutenant Colonel and A. B. Jones Major upon the final organization of the regiment, when it was assigned to Auger's Brigade, Kings' Division of McDowell's Corps. The regiment was armed with Sharp's breech-loading rifles and acquired great skill in their use.

The Minnesota company with its regiment was with the Army of the Potomac in most of its campaigns, participating in the battles and actions of Fredericksburg, April 18, 1862; Orange Courthouse, July 27; Guinea Station, August 6; Rappahannock Station, August 21-23; Warrenton Springs, August

26; Second Bull Run, August 28-30; South Mountain, September 14; Antietam, September 16 and 17; Fredericksburg, December 13-15; Chancellorsville, May 2-4, 1863; Gettysburg, July 2-4; Wapping Heights, July 23; Kelly's Ford, November 7; Brandy Station, November 10; Locust Grove, November 27; Mine Run, November 30; Wilderness, May 5-7, 1864; Spottsylvania, May 8-21; North Anna, May 23-27; Totopaytomoy, May 27-31; Cold Harbor, May 30 to June 12; and throughout the siege of Petersburg from June 16, 1864 until its occupation by the Union forces.

The company lost eight men killed and twenty-three wounded in the several affairs in which it was engaged. Its service when in action was habitually on the skirmish line, and hence "did not suffer the heavy losses incident to fighting in heavy columns."

In February, 1865, the company was transferred to the First Minnesota Battallion and was mustered out of service with that organization at Fort Snelling, July 15, 1865.

THE SECOND COMPANY OF SHARPSHOOTERS.

This company was organized March 20, 1862, William F. Russell being appointed Captain; John A. W. Jones, First Lieutenant, and Daniel H. Priest Second Lieutenant. April 21, the company left Fort Snelling and arrived in Washington, District of Columbia, on the twenty-sixth. May 3 it moved to the front reporting to Colonel Hiram Berdan of the "First United States Sharpshooters," on the Peninsular near Yorktown. The company remained with this regiment but a few days, but during the time it participated May 27 in the Battle of Hanover Court House.

On the thirtieth of May the company was assigned to the First Minnesota Infantry and thereafter bore the designation of Company "L" of that organization. "From this date until November 23, 1863, the general history of the company was practically the same as that of this regiment (First Minn.), as is participated with it in all its hardships, battles, etc. * * *

a reference to the history of that regiment will practically cover the ground."

November 23, 1863, the company was detailed as provost guard at the headquarters of the Second Division of the Second Army Corps, and remained on such duty until mustered out. While thus detached the company participated with its division in the Battles of the Wilderness, Spottsylvania Court House, Hanover Church and Cold Harbor, and throughout the siege of Petersburg, including actions at Deep Bottom, July 27-30, and August 12-21, 1864; Reams Station, August 25; and Boynton Roads, October 27. Its casualties in action during its term of service were six men killed and thirty-five wounded. The company was mustered out of service near Petersburg, Virginia, March 19, 1865.

BRACKETT'S BATTALION OF CAVALRY.

Minnesota furnished her complement of men for all arms of the service during the Civil War. She was not only represented in the infantry branch, but in the cavalry and artillery as well. The first cavalry organization formed in the State was three companies recruited in the autumn of 1861, and which are designated in the records as "Brackett's Battalion." These three companies commanded respectively by Captains Henning Von Minden, D. M. West and A. B. Brackett, reported for duty in St. Louis, Missouri, in December, 1861, where they were assigned to a regiment known as the "Curtis Horse," named in honor of General Curtis, then in command of the Department of Missouri. Directly upon such assignment, Captain Brackett was promoted to Major and placed in command of the Minnesota battalion. Subsequently the name of the organization was changed to Fifth Iowa Cavalry, under the order of the War Department, requiring all volunteer regiments to bear the name of some State. The regiment being composed of four companies from Iowa, three from Minnesota, three from Nebraska and two from Missouri, gave Iowa the advantage in the choice of name.

In February, 1862, the regiment was ordered to Fort Henry, Tennessee, reaching there on the eleventh, soon after the surrender of the fort, but in time to take part in the operations resulting in the capture of Fort Donelson February 16. The regiment rendered important service here while on scouting duty, in which it operated effectively on the enemy's communications, preventing reenforcements from reaching the fort. Following the surrender of Donelson the regiment was almost constantly in the saddle for several weeks, performing arduous duty defending the flanks and rear of the army from attack by the partisan rangers of the enemy.

The Minnesota battalion, acting independently, performed important service in the restoration of bridges and the construction of lines of telegraph in connection with the movements of the army just prior to the Battle of Shiloh, April 6 and 7, 1862; also in General Halleck's advance on Corinth in May, it performed like service most efficiently.

After the occupation of Corinth May 30, Brackett's battalion with headquarters at Humbolt, in West Tennessee, was employed throughout the summer in scouting the country and protecting railroad communications with Corinth. During the autumn months of 1862, and the winter of 1862-1863, the regiment acting together, made several long scouts in Western Tennessee in efforts to stay the ravages of the Confederate General Forrest, who terrorized that region for so long a time. In the course of its movements it became engaged in several actions of considerable importance; at Clarksville, September 3, and twice, near Fort Donelson, it had spirited fights. At the latter place, on the fifth of February, it was with the force that encountered Forrest, Wheeler and Wharton, with their combined commands of several thousand men. This force made a determined attack upon the Fort, but was repulsed and forced to retire.

In June, 1863, the regiment moved to Murfreesboro, where it was assigned to the cavalry division of the Fourteenth Army Corps, Army of the Cumberland.

During the summer months following, the regiment participated in the advance movements, which constituted a notable

feature of General Rosecrans' general campaign against the Confederate General Bragg, and his army, in which the latter was finally forced to retire south of the Tennessee River at Chattanooga. In this movement the regiment was generally employed in scouting and outpost duty, a character of service in aggressive operations that entails exceptional vigilance and activity, and at times much hardship and privation upon the troops so engaged. In this service the battalion much of the time operated independently, always executing its orders promptly and effectively; often encountering detached bodies of the enemy and sometimes acting with the advance of the main column in its attacks upon important positions.

About January 1, 1864, the battalion having largely reenlisted as veterans, was ordered to Minnesota for its veteran furlough. While in the State the battalion received many recruits and otherwise increased its numbers by the addition of another company commanded by Captain Ara Barton. Before its furlough expired an order was received permanently detaching the battalion from the Fifth Iowa Cavalry, and thereafter it bore the designation of "Brackett's Battalion of Minnesota Cavalry."

The further service of this organization was in the Indian expeditions on the western frontier. It reported to General Sully at Sioux City, Iowa, May 21, 1864, and accompanied him on the succeeding campaign up the Missouri River,, through the bad lands of the Dakotas, to the Yellowstone River. During this expedition it participated in two severe engagements with the Indians, in both of which the courage, dash and discipline that had characterized its prior service in the South, was manifested in a notable manner.

In 1865 the battalion was again with General Sully in his operations west of the Missouri River, and after quiet was restored to the frontier, it was posted in detachments at widely separated points along the western border, where it remained until its muster out of service in May, 1866.

This organization bears the distinction of having served a longer period than any other troops enlisted in the State. Its service extended from September, 1861 to May, 1866, a period

of more than four and one-half years, during which the men of the battalion became veterans of two wars.

In addition to Brackett's battalion there was raised in Minnesota two full regiments of cavalry of twelve companies each, known as the First Regiment of Mounted Rangers recruited in the autumn of 1862, and the Second Regiment of Cavalry organized in January, 1864; also Hatch's Independent Battalion of Cavalry, composed of six companies, enlisted during the summer of 1863. None of these organizations, however, were sent South, their service being wholly upon the frontier in campaigns relating to the Sioux Indian war. Their history is sketched in the chapter relating to the "Sioux Outbreak of 1862," and hence is omitted here.

FIRST REGIMENT OF HEAVY ARTILLERY.

The last troops raised in Minnesota for service in the Civil War was the First Regiment of Heavy Artillery, the largest organization in point of numbers that went from the State during the war. It was composed of twelve companies, including a total of 1,755 men, most of whom were recruited during the early months of 1865, though the nucleus of the regiment was formed in the autumn of 1864. Its organization was completed in April, 1865, by the appointment of William Colvill as Colonel, Luther L. Baxter as Lieutenant Colonel and Orlando Eddy, C. P. Heffelfinger and David Misner as Majors.

The regiment was forwarded by companies as they were organized to Chattanooga, Tennessee, where they were assigned to duty in the numerous forts by which that strategic point was encompassed.

The war was so near its close when the regiment reached the front, that no opportunity was afforded it to try conclusions with the enemy. It efficiently performed the duty required of it as garrisons of the posts it occupied, where it was retained until its service was no longer required.

"Under the brow of Missionary Ridge, at the base of Lookout Mountain, and with the battlefields of Chickamauga and

Atlanta beyond, what inspiring memories to lofty thoughts and patriotism. Rumor comes from time to time that Hood is about to march to Chattanooga and thence to Knoxville. The men are placed on half rations, and the utmost viligance exerted and anxiety prevails. General Hood had reorganized the rebel forces of the southwest, and it was a serious question as to what route he would take north. By attacking and capturing Chattanooga, thence on to Knoxville, he could have joined Lee and delayed the final result."

But Hood met his fate in another quarter. Chattanooga was not seriously threatened, and after a few months' service the regiment returned to Minnesota, the last of its companies being mustered out of service September 27, 1865.

FIRST BATTERY OF LIGHT ARTILLERY.

The First Battery, Minnesota Light Artillery, was mustered into service November 21, 1861, and when ordered to the front was commanded by Emil Munch as Captain, with William Pfaender and F. E. Peebles as First Lieutenants, and Richard Fisher and G. F. Coake as Second Lieutenants.

Soon after its organization, the battery was forwarded to St. Louis, Missouri, where it received its guns and equipment, and in February, 1862, was ordered to Pittsburg Landing, Tennessee, where it was assigned to Buckland's Brigade of Sherman's division of the army under General Grant, then concentrating at that point.

It will be observed that this battery reached the fighting line of the army in the West early in its career. It was also its fortune to be given an early opportunity to test its qualities as a fighting force on one of the most hotly contested and bloodiest fields of the Civil War. In the Battle of Shiloh the First Battery was among the first organizations of that arm of the service to get into action, and by its effective work it was conspicuous in aiding to check the first onslaught of the Confederates in their almost successful surprise of the Union army on the morning of April 6, 1862. Throughout the fighting of the first day's

battle the battery gave evidence of remarkable discipline and efficiency in maintaining its organization during most difficult maneuvers in repeated changing of positions, as the pressure of the enemy compelled the recession of the Union lines; and in the final conflict of the day when it seemed more than an even chance that Beauregard would make good his boast, that he would that night "water his horses in the Tennessee River," the First Minnesota Battery, posted at the key point of the most vital position of the Union line, five guns in battery, one disabled, its commander, the gallant Munch, severely wounded, never ceased its fire until the last cartridge in its ammunition chests was expended, and the final assault of the enemy was repulsed.

The service performed by this battery in the Battle of Shiloh was not properly recognized in the official reports, for the reason that in the confusion and disorder that largely characterized the operation of the first day's fight, it served under several different brigade or division commanders, being repeatedly sent, in some instances in separate sections, to the most exposed or threatened positions, independent of the organization to which it properly belonged. This neglect was afterwards recognized by General B. M. Prestiss, to whose command it was attached early in the action, by a public declaration made by him since the war, that "The First Minnesota battery never received the credit it deserved at Shiloh; that it was mainly due to the excellent work done by this battery that the 'hornets' nest,' with its comparatively small force of men, held out so long against the overwhelming numbers of the enemy." The battery suffered a loss of three killed and eight wounded at Shiloh.

In the campaign that followed the Battle of Shiloh, the battery was with the army under General Halleck that advanced against Corinth, Mississippi, and that occupied that place on the thirtieth of May. During the "siege" it was often in action and always posted at points where decisive results were sought to be obtained. In the Second Battle of Corinth, October 3 and 4, 1862, a section of the battery assigned to special service in a reconnoissance sent out to develop the position and movements of the enemy, became so hotly engaged that one of its

guns was disabled and abandoned, but was recovered during the pursuit of the enemy after the battle was won.

In all the movements that related to the "Campaign of Vicksburg" from November, 1862, to July, 1863, in which its division participated, the battery was present, and performed good service. After the investment of Vicksburg, it was given an advanced position where the effective operations of its guns was especially noted in the artillery practice preceding the assault, and subsequently during the arduous service of the siege.

After the surrender of Vicksburg the battery remained in the vicinity for several months. In April, 1864, it moved with the Seventeenth Army Corps, to which it was now attached, and making a hard march across the country, reached Big Shanty, Georgia, June 9, where it joined General Sherman's army then engaged in the Atlanta Campaign. In the notable "flanking" movements of this remarkable campaign, the battery was often under fire, and in operations about Atlanta its Rodman guns were in daily practice throwing shell into the doomed city.

The battery was in the "march to the sea," and in the "campaign of the Carolinas," during the latter participating actively in a fight at Cheraw, South Carolina, in which it effectually silenced a Confederate battery. It continued with Sherman's army in the march to Washington, where on the twenty-fourth of May, 1865, it "took part in the grandest review ever seen in America."

During its service there had been many changes in the roster of its officers. W. Z. Clayton had become Captain vice Emil Munch resigned, and at the time of the muster out of the battery June 30, 1865, Henry S. Hurter, James Fall, John D. Ross and F. L. Haywood were its Lieutenants. Lieutenant Wm. Koeth was killed in front of Atlanta August 14, 1864.

SECOND BATTERY OF LIGHT ARTILLERY.

Small organizations of troops like a company of artillery do not as a rule attract attention to its service in the same degree, even relatively, as is the case with a full regiment of one

thousand men. An isolated company of any arm of the service, however, distinguished may be the character of the work it performs, does not command the attention and recognition accorded to a larger body performing the same general character of service. This reflection is not suggested as specially applicable to the Second Battery of Minnesota Light Artillery, but rather as illustrating the general proposition that such organizations, operating independently of other troops from the same locality or State, are placed at a disadvantage in their efforts to win recognition for the good work they may perform.

The Second Battery of Artillery saw long and severe service in some of the hardest campaigns of the war, and won honorable distinction for its discipline and efficiency in whatever service it was required to perform. The battery was recruited during the winter of 1861-1862 and "accepted in to the service of the United States" March 21, 1862. William A. Hotchkiss continued as Captain of the battery throughout its service, and until its muster out in August, 1865. There were many changes among its subaltern officers, but during its early service its Lieutenants were Gustav Rosenk, Albert Woodbury, Richard L. Dawley and Henry W. Harder.

The battery reported in St. Louis, Missouri, April 25, 1862, where it was outfitted for the field, and on the twenty-first of May ordered to Pittsburg Landing, Tennessee; from thence it joined the Army of the Mississippi, commanded by General John Pope, in front of Corinth, and was with that command during the concluding days of the Corinth Campaign. It performed some reconnoissance duty during the summer, and in August moved with General Jeff. C. Davis' division, to which it was now assigned, to Nashville, Tennessee, there becoming a part of General D. C. Buell's army then operating against the Confederate forces commanded by General Braxton Bragg. In the race for Louisville, Kentucky, that became a notable feature of the succeeding campaign, the battery moved by forced marches a distance of two hundred and fifty-nine miles, and reached its goal with the army just in time to save the city from capture by the enemy. Failing to effect a lodgement on the Ohio River, Bragg

fell back to the vicinity of Perryville, Kentucky, where the battle of October 8, 1862, was fought, and in which the guns of the Second Battery performed effective work. The battery was in action several times during the day, being ordered to critical points of the field as they were developed by the movements of the enemy. The conduct of the battery was much commended in the official reports of the battle, and was ever after while with the army regarded as one of the most reliable units of its artillery arm. Several of its members were wounded at Perryville, but its casualties were light considering the exposed positions it occupied.

In the Battle of Stone River December 26, 1862, in which the battery had three men killed and nine wounded, its record was of a similar character. Always posted where the contest promised to be most stubborn, the battery fought with determination and never allowed the enemy to reach its guns or "limbered to the rear" until ordered to change its position. During the Tullahoma Campaign the battery was freqquently under fire, always serving its ten pounder Parrott guns, with which it was now armed, with good effect.

After the occupation of Chattanooga by General Rosecrans, who had superceded Buell in command of the army, the battery participated in the general movements that led up to the Battle of Chickamauga, September 19, 1863. Captain Hotchkiss, who was acting as Chief of Artillery of the Division, says in his report relative to the service of the Second Battery in the Battle of Chickamauga: "The battery was promptly brought into position under a brisk fire from the enemy's skirmsihers, and soon drove in, not only his skirmishers, but his main line. The service the Second Minnesota Battery did at this point was of great importance. Three successive times it prevented the enemy from forming and extending his left, with the evident purpose of flanking General Davis' right." General Davis in his report says: "With the admirable position taken and efficient working of the Second Minnesota Battery on my right, I was enabled to repel the repeated assaults of the enemy, and to prevent him from flanking our position until about four P. M., when re-

enforcements arrived." Lieutenant Woodbury received a severe wound in this battle from the effect of which he died a few weeks later, greatly lamented by his comrades.

In the Battle of Mission Ridge, November 25, the battery was with the reserve of General Sherman's army, but while the fighting was in progress, it was given opportunity to use its guns effectively against an important work of the enemy. In the pursuit of Bragg's forces after the battle, the battery moved as far as Ringgold, Georgia, from whence it was sent with its division to the relief of Knoxville, Tennessee. Returning to Chattanooga in December, it was stationed at Rossville, an outpost near the city, where it remained until March, 1863, participating in the meantime in actions at Tunnel Hill and Buzzard Roost.

While at Rossville the battery "veteranized" (re-enlisted as veterans), and in April was furloughed to Minnesota, where the men enjoyed a brief respite from their long and arduous service. Upon the return of the veterans to the front in June they were assigned to special service as a mounted force, but not equipped as artillery. They remained in the vicinity of Chattanooga until March, 1865, serving in scouting and garrison duty, when they were assigned as a garrison of a fort at Philadelphia, Tennessee. Here they remained until ordered home where they were mustered out of service August 16, 1865.

A third battery of light artillery was organized in Minnesota in February, 1863, but its service was limited to operations relating to the Indian war on the western frontier. The important events of its history are sketched in the chapter on the Sioux outbreak of 1862.

The limited space allotted in these volumes to the chapter on "Minnesota in the Civil War" has allowed but a brief separate reference to the history of the several organizations whose service is somewhat cursorily reviewed in the preceding sketches. The purpose had in view in this compilation was to give the reader a general idea of the part Minnesota sustained in the great war for the preservation of the Union. A simple statement of

facts is sufficient to show that the State was represented in all the large army organizations and in all the more important campaigns of the war, and that her regiments, battalions and batteries made an exceptional record for valor and notable achievement on many of the decisive and historic fields of perhaps the greatest civil conflict in the history of the world. While keeping in mind the fact that Minnesota in 1861-1865 had but just assumed the responsibilities of a sovereign State, and the further fact that she was required during this period to defend her own border against a savage onslaught of unprecedented proportions and violence, it will be conceded that there is warrant for the pride with which her people refer to the tribute of patriotic effort and sacrifice she offered for the salvation of the country.

Under the supervision of the Adjutant General of the State there has recently been completed an exhaustive examination and analysis of the muster rolls and other preserved records of the several organizations recruited in Minnesota, from which it is ascertained that a total of 22,018 men were enlisted in the United States Military service, of which 14,775 were infantry, 3,975 cavalry, 2,448 artillery and 820 were unassigned. This enumeration eliminates all duplications of names and gives but a single record for reenlisted men. There were thirty-four officers and six hundred and one enlisted men killed or mortally wounded in action, and thirty-two officers and 1904 enlisted men who died of disease while in the service, a total of 2,539.

If there be added to this total the multitude of those who by reason of their disabilities engendered by their service, survived but a brief period after their muster out, the aggregate would be greatly increased.

That Minnesota honors the memory of her patriotic dead is evidenced by the memorials she has caused to be erected on the battle fields of Shiloh, Vicksburg, Gettysburg, Chickamauga and Mission Ridge, commemorating the glorious record of her sons on those historic fields.

NUMBER OF TROOPS FURNISHED FROM MINNESOTA BY REGIMENTS DURING THE CIVIL WAR.

NUMBER OF TROOPS FURNISHED FROM MINNESOTA BY REGIMENTS DURING THE CIVIL WAR

First Regiment	1,287
First Battalion	714
Second Regiment	1,794
Third	1,401
Fourth	1,600
Fifth	1,157
Sixth	1,253
Seventh	1,131
Eighth	1,045
Ninth	1,087
Tenth	1,089
Eleventh	1,009
First Heavy Artillery	1,755
Second Minnesota Cavalry	1,358
First Minnesota Mounted Rangers	1,285
Hatch's Battalion Minnesota Cavalry	720
Brackett's Battalion Minnesota Cavalry	612
First, Second and Third Minnesota Light Artillery	693
First and Second Minnesota Sharp Shooters	208
Total	21,198

Detachment of United States Engineers	94	
Un-assigned substitutes and drafted men	435	
Colored troops	72	
Three month men who did not re-enlist	219	820
		22,018

MINNESOTA LOSSES IN CIVIL WAR.

	Killed or died of wounds.			Died of disease, accidents, in prison, etc.			
Infantry	**Officers**	**En. Men**	**Total**	**Officers**	**En. Men**	**Total**	**Grand Totals**
First Regiment.....	10	177	187	2	97	99	286
Second Regiment.....	2	91	93	2	186	188	281
Third Regiment	—	17	17	4	275	279	296
Fourth Regiment	3	58	61	3	175	178	239
Fifth Regiment.....	4	86	90	4	175	179	269
Sixth Regiment.....	—	12	12	3	161	165	177
Seventh Regiment	2	31	33	—	138	138	171
Eighth Regiment.....	1	26	27	—	56	56	83
Ninth Regiment	6	41	47	3	224	227	274
Tenth Regiment	2	35	37	4	111	115	152
Eleventh Regiment....	—	3	3	1	21	22	25
Artillery							
First Battery	1	7	8	1	29	30	38
Second Battery	1	5	6	—	19	19	25
Third Battery	—	—	—	—	4	4	4
First Heavy Artillery..	—	—	—	—	87	87	87
Cavalry							
First Cavalry.....	2	4	6	—	31	31	37
Second Cavalry	—	4	4	3	56	59	63
Brackett's Battalion ..	—	4	4	1	6	7	11
Hatch's Battalion	—	—	—	—	21	21	21
Grand Total...	34	601	635	32	1872	1904	2539

Chapter XI.

INKPADOOTA MASSACRE OF 1857.

THE first important and really notable tragic event between the Sioux Indians and the whites within the present limits of Minnesota, occurred at the little settlement, or hamlet, of Springfield, (now Jackson) in Jackson County, in the latter part of March, 1857. Except for a brief period during the War of 1812, the Sioux of Minnesota had been faithful in their friendship towards the whites, ever after the treaty made with Lieutenant Pike, in 1805. There were only a few individual exceptions, and these were not properly chargeable to any band as a whole. The murder of the two cattle drovers, by the wild Sissetons, near Big Stone Lake, in 1846; the killing of Elijah S. Terry by the same untutored people, near Pembina, in 1852, and the shooting, in October of the latter year, near Shakopee, of Mrs. Keener by a drunken Indian were offenses for which only the perpetrators were responsible. Zv-yah-se, Mrs. Keener's murderer, was hung at St. Paul in 1854; the guilty Sissetons were never punished.

Nor were the Indian attack and murders at Springfield chargeable legitimately, to the Sioux nation, or to any recognized Sioux band. The deadly work of the savages was accomplished by a small band of savages, renegades and outlaws from the Sioux, owing neither allegiance or obedience to any chief or band, or other authority, white or red. They were Ishmaelites whose hands were against all other men, and who were particularly hated by their own kindred and nation.

A few days previous to the attack on Springfield by these Indians, a series of murders, amounting to a massacre, were perpetrated by the same miscreants upon the settlers at Lake Okoboji, and Spirit Lake, in Dickinson County, Iowa, fifteen miles south of Springfield. The incident is commonly mentioned and referred to as the "Spirit Lake" massacre, although but one white man was murdered on the lake of the latter name. However, Okoboji and Spirit Lake are connected by open straits, and constitute practically a single body of water, so that the distinction is not important.

The fact that white people were murdered at Springfield, a few days after the Spirit Lake tragedy, commonly receives but a bare mention. The Iowa authorities and the Iowa people generally have given more attention to honoring the memories of their murdered settlers, than the Minnesota people have paid to the massacre of the Springfield people. At Spirit Lake stands a fairly magnificent granite monument, erected by the Iowa Legislature, in memory of the victims of the massacre, and to commemorate the incident itself, while neither the authorities or the citizens of Minnesota have done anything of the kind, to preserve the record and memory of the Indian murders at Springfield.

The first onslaught of the Indians was made upon the settlement at Lake Okoboji, Iowa, March 8. On the morning of that day fifteen Indian warriors and a number of their women and children entered the settlement, demanded and received food and other articles, shot down some cattle and other stock and fairly terrorized the people. In the afternoon they began the work of massacre, and by sundown had murdered thirty men, women and children, the entire population of the little colony then present, except four young women, who were made prisoners. Mrs. Elizabeth Thatcher, Mrs. Lydia Noble, Mrs. Margaret Marble, and Miss Abbie Gardner. All of their victims' property that they fancied, including horses, was appropriated.

Nearly all of the murdering was done treacherously, or stealthily. The Indians approached their victims, generally with professions of friendship, and a peaceable demeanor, and slew

them suddenly. The women and children were tomahawked, or bludgeoned, and some of the circumstances were revolting and sickening. Only in one or two instances did the settlers make any defense, although every family had firearms of some sort. Dr. Isaac H. Herriott, formerly of Red Wing, is said to have fought valiantly with his clubbed rifle before he was killed.

After two days spent in the settlement, almost in view of the mangled and frozen corpses of their victims, and engaged for the most part in enjoying the visible fruits of their complete and easy victory the savages on the morning of the tenth broke camp and crossed West Okoboji Lake. They had brought to East Okoboji horses and sleds which they had taken from the settlers on the Little Sioux River, far to the westward a few days previously, and they added to their transportation facilities at the Okoboji colony. On the thirteenth somewhat to their surprise, they discovered the cabin of William Marble, on the west side of Spirit Lake. It did not take long to murder him, and make his pretty young wife a prisoner. That night they held an enthusiastic war dance, in celebration of their signal triumph.

At Marble's cabin, they found some hundreds of dollars in gold coin, which the young pioneer had brought to the country; his widow said the amount was $1,000, but this was generally believed to be a large over-estimate.

The savage murderers were all Sioux, and former members of the organized bands of that tribe in Minnesota, but, as has been stated, for a long time they had been renegades, and outlaws belonging to no other organization, and recognizing no other authority than their own evil wills. Their leader was named Inkpadoota, (Scarlet End, or Red End), a former member of the Wahpakoota band, and born on the Cannon River in about 1800.

In 1838 the Wahpakoota band, for the greater part lived in the Cannon River country; the head chief was Tah-sah-ghee, (His Cane) one of the signers of the Treaty of Prairie du Chien, and in 1852, and of the Taliaferro treaty of 1836. Under him was a sub-chief called the Black Eagle, who frequently had

a small village in the Blue Earth country; he too signed the Treaty of 1836. Black Eagle's band was largely composed of desperate characters. They frequently went on the war path against the Sacs and Foxes in Iowa, and the latter in return raided the Wahpakootas, both on the Cannon River and in the Blue Earth country. The Cannon River Wahpakootas claimed that the lawless and depredatory habits of Black Eagle's band perpetuated the feud between them and the Iowa tribes, and caused much distress and injury to the Sioux.

In about 1839 Chief Tah-sah-gee (commonly written Tasagi) was murdered by some members of his own band. Varying versions of the circumstances of this tragedy have been given. The most common, and the one generally believed, is, that the chief's murderer was Inkapadoota, although it is stated at this day, by some old Indians, that the actual killing was done by Chan Yuksa, (Wood Breaker) with Inkpadoota and others as accomplices. After the murder, which caused great consternation and indignation among the Wahpakootas, the perpetrators fled, nevermore to return to their band.

At this time, Chief Black Eagle was out in the Blue Earth country with his little band; Inkpadoota and his accomplices took temporary refuge with this organization, but were soon chased out. The Cannon River Wahpakootas were upon their trail vowing vengeance. They fled to the Northern Iowa country, braving even the Sacs and Foxes in that quarter. It is said that Black Eagle's band was broken up by this incident, and that he and some of his adherents proceeded to join their fugitive brethren, on the Des Moines, or somewhere to the southwestward. Here Black Eagle was regarded as the head or chief of the aggregation for a time, but in a few years died, or as one tradition states was in turn murdered, as Tah-sah-ghee had been. Thereafter the outlawed band lived a wandering life, never remaining long at a time in any locality. They went as far west as the Missouri, as far north as the Cheyenne, as far south and east as the Upper Des Moines, in Iowa. They never remained long enough at any encampment to raise and harvest a crop of corn or vegetables; never traded except at long intervals at any

post, for they seldom had anything to sell except a few buffalo robes. On a few occasions they sent a man and woman to a trader to exchange some robes for powder and lead, but they remained at the trading house but a few minutes and in seeming fear and dread hurried away. Their visits to their own nation and former brethren were as infrequent and as brief and stealthy.

From time to time some villainous Sioux committed a murder, or other gross crime upon some other member of the tribe, and fled for fear of vengeance to the outlawed band of Wahpakootas for protection. Among these who expatriated themselves from their bands because of their murderous deeds, and the dread of blood atonement was a Sisseton of Sleepy Eye's band, called Sintomminee Doota, (or All Over Red). It is said, that after Black Eagle's death he became chief or leader of the outlaws. After the greater part of the Sacs and Foxes had been removed from Iowa (in 1846), Sintomminee Doota withdrew from the main band and went down the Des Moines River, in Northern Iowa, and it is claimed never returned to the Minnesota country again. There were a few others of the old gang on the Upper Des Moines. Inkpadoota was the leader of those who continued the roving life and the Bedouin existence.

These wandering wretches were uniformly hostile towards all the whites with whom they came in contact. They attacked and robbed two Government surveying parties at work in Northern Iowa prior to 1850. In 1848, when a party under Mr. Marsh was running the correction line near Fort Dodge, All Over Red and some others of his gang, came upon them, robbed them of their horses, provisions and other articles; destroyed their instruments and wagons, and made them recross the Des Moines, and leave the country. Although there were troops at Fort Dodge, the savages were not punished. Previously, in 1846, they had broken up, plundered, and driven away another party of Government surveyors. Soon after and in consequence of this incident, and the wildness of these outlaws, the military post of Fort Dodge was established.

In 1849 these same Indians destroyed the cabins and other improvements of some white settlers on the Upper Des Moines, and chased them from the country. The troops at Fort Dodge did not interfere, nor did the Iowa authorities. In 1848 a settler named Henry Lott, located on the Upper Des Moines, near the mouth of Boone River. Certain Iowa historians, wholly from traditions, give him a bad name, say he was a horse thief, and a whisky seller.[1] In the winter of 1848 All Over Red, and some other Indians of this kind, drove Lott, his eldest son from their home, burned his cabin, (according to Gue's History of Iowa, Vol. 1 p. 290) shot his cattle, frightened away his little son, who froze to death in trying to join his father, and terrorized and abused Mrs. Lott so that she died a few months later. Neither the soldiers nor the Iowa authorities offered to interfere, but Lott induced some of Chief Johnnie Green's Fox Indians, and a few white settlers to return with him to his claim, and try to rescue the members of his family whom he had left behind. At the claim they found nearly everything destroyed, and Mrs. Lott and some of her children without food, and in a most pitiable condition. The Indians had left the country. Lott pluckily rebuilt his cabin, and remained on his claim for some years. He vowed vengeance on Sintomminee Doota, bided his time, and took it.

In January, 1854, Lott and his oldest son killed All Over Red, his two wives, and two children, burned their tepees, and left the bodies to the wolves for sepulture. Lott fled the country, and Major William Williams, of the Iowa militia led a large party of Indians and whites on his trail until they found that Lott and his son had crossed the Missouri, and were well on their way to California. Now, certain misinformed people have been led to believe that the Spirit Lake and Springfield murders were perpetrated by the Indians in retaliation for the murder of Sintomminee Doota and his family by Henry Lott,

[1]Authorities who had the best opportunity of knowing, an investigation at the State Historical Society at Des Moines, and private letters from persons who knew the facts quite well, convinced me fully that the cabin mentioned was not burned, and that Lott was a bad character, and came to that locality to sell whisky to the Indians.

and his son. It is asserted by some Iowa historians (Major Williams before mentioned seems to have started the story) that Sintomminee Doota and Inkpadoota were brothers, and that the latter when he slew the people at Spirit Lake and cut off their heads, dashed out the brains of the little ones against trees and houses and ravished the women and girls of the Iowa settlement, was merely taking vengeance, for the loss of his brother.

The truth is, Inkpadoota was a Wahpakoota Sioux, his family were all members of that band, from Southeastern Minnesota, while All Over Red was a Sisseton, from the Upper Minnesota. It is doubtful whether Inkpadoota ever heard the particulars of All Over Red's murder; it is certain that he would not have been concerned if he had. With him it was every man for himself; he never had a sentiment so noble and dignified as that of revenge, and would not turn on his heel to retaliate for the slaughter of his nearest friend. Of all the base characters among his fellow outlaws, his nature seems to have been the vilest, and his heart the blackest. He murdered his own people—even those of his own band. He killed one of his companions to have his wife in safety.

The winter of 1856-1857 was one of unusual severity throughout the Northwest. The snow was deep and the ice thick late in the month of March in the latter year. Game became very scarce. Inkpadoota and his band of a dozen warriors with their women and children, had endeavored to pass the entire winter over on the Big Sioux River, and live upon the muskrats, skunks and other vermin in that quarter. But the game was so hard to catch that they had to kill and eat some of their ponies, and at last they concluded to go among the settlements of Northwestern Iowa, and rob the pioneers who had recently come into the country. In February they appeared in the Little Sioux Valley, and among the few poor settlers of Clay County they perpetrated a great number of atrocities and outrages. The pioneers were robbed of their arms, ammunition, cattle, horses, sleds, and even food and clothing. Some of their women and girls were robbed of something of far more value. Trader Coursalle informed Captain Bee (mentioned on subse-

quent pages) that the Indians said the trouble originated on the Little Sioux the previous January, when they were hunting along the river. A settler's dog attacked one of them and the Indian killed it. The dog's owner gave the Indian a beating, and took his gun from him. Then the other settlers went to the Indian camp, and took away all the guns and hid them. In a little while the Indians went "to the place where their guns were stored" got possession of them, and then started on a career of revenge. The story has been repeated by others, but it has never been corroborated, and is preposterously false upon its face. The Indians gave other versions of the origin of their fray.

From Clay County Inkpadoota and his band moved on their captured sleds, and horses, with their women and children, to the vicinity of the Okoboji settlement. Their camp with their plunder was pitched in the timber, out of sight of the whites, and the wretches visited the settler's houses claiming to be very hungry, when they had just left their flesh pots full of the best to be had. Early in February the supply of provisions in the settlement had become well nigh exhausted, and in time starvation was actually imminent. At the time of the Indian visit, several men of the colony were absent at the remote Iowa settlement to obtain supplies for their families. And yet the people of Okoboji, without a protest, took the scanty rations from the mouths of their own children, and gave them to their greedy gobbling murderers.

The massacre was first discovered by Morris Markham, on March 9 and by three other men, who had made claims on Spirit Lake, and come to the colony to make permanent settlement, March 15. They returned as soon as possible to Fort Dodge, which they did not reach however, until the twenty-second. At once the alarm spread through the country, and three companies of citizens, volunteers, were soon raised and trudged through the deep snow to the region of the massacre, which they reached April 1, three weeks after the principal massacre. On the return trip the captain of one of the companies, J. C. Johnson, and one of his men, perished in a bliz-

zard, in which all of the volunteers suffered severely, three of them dying a few days afterwards from pneumonia contracted at the time.

As has been stated, the horrible tragedy at Okoboji and Spirit Lake, was first discovered by Morris Markham, a young man who had been making his home with the families of Joel Howe and Rowland Gardner at Lake Okoboji, but who was absent hunting for his estrayed cattle at the time of the massacre. He returned to the settlement on the night of March 9, while the Indians were still in the neighborhood, and found only the mangled corpses of his former friends and neighbors. In haste he fled towards the northward and made his first halt at "Grangers Point," a house on the Des Moines, almostly directly on the boundary line, and where George C. Granger lived. Markham was on his way to the little hamlet and settlement of Springfield, or "Des Moines City," as it was then sometimes called; Mr. Granger accompanied Markham from the "Point" to Springfield, which was reached on the evening of March 17, when the two messengers roused the people by the alarming news of the work of the savages at Spirit Lake and of their presence still in the country.

Nearly all of the settlers at Springfield had come in the previous summer from Northern Iowa, and lived at the east side of the Des Moines which divided the place. William Wood and his brother, George Wood, had, the previous spring, established a store or trading house and laid out a town on the west side of the little river. Upon learning of the calamity that had befallen their neighbors at the lakes, the men at Springfield first prepared to go to their assistance. Second thoughts persuaded them, however, that the sensible course would be to prepare to defend themselves. There were fifteen able-bodied men at Springfield, and two others who had been frozen in a blizzard so badly that both legs of one, John Henderson, and the right leg of another, Robert Smith, had been amputated by Dr. E. B. N. Strong, the village surgeon. There were about twelve adult women.

On the morning of the eighteenth, the next morning after the arrival of Markham and Granger, the Springfield people dispatched two of their number, Joseph B. Cheffins, who had come with the Wood Brothers from Mankato, and Henry Tretz, a young German, to Fort Ridgely, with a petition for assistance and protection at the hands and muskets of the military, against the shot guns and tomahawks of the Indians. The other settlers with three exceptions, gathered into two houses, the two strongest in the place Mr. Thomas and Mr. Wheeler, and prepared to defend themselves. The storekeepers of the place, the Wood Brothers, refused to believe that there had been any Indian murders at Spirit Lake, notwithstanding Markham's plain and direct story. They said if he had seen any dead men at the lakes they had been killed in a fight over homestead claims. Some weeks before Inkpadoota and his band had encamped in the bottom southeast of Springfield for one night. Before leaving three of them went to the store, and bought some powder, shot, matches and a few other articles on credit, promising to pay for them in the spring. They pretended to be Sisseton Sioux.

At this time there were a few Indian families located in Jackson County, in the timber on the Des Moines, a few miles north of Springfield. They were in two small collections, one was six miles from Springfield, consisting of four families, and the leading spirit was Smoky Moccasin; the other Indian families, three or four in number, were encamped nine miles north of Springfield, about the trading house of Joseph Coursalle (often called "Joe Gaboo," the latter a corruption of Godbout) a well-known half-blood Sioux, who had come to the country the fall before from Traverse des Sioux. All the Indians in the country were annuity Sissetons, and offshoots from Sleepy Eye's band, whose headquarters were then at Swan Lake.

When Inkpadoota and his party left Spirit Lake they moved by easy marches on their sleds, and on horseback to the timber on Heron Lake, about fifteen miles from Springfield, where they again pitched their tepees, and where they remained until the twenty-eighth. Meanwhile, the greater part of their

time had been spent in sumptuous and riotous living. They brought from Springfield a plentiful supply of fresh beef and pork, and all the flour and cornmeal and grocery stores the settlers had, and the time was almost a continual feast. With them, as with many other Indians, it was a feast or a famine always. So long as they had anything edible, they gorged themselves with it, frequently eating half a dozen times a day. At night, and often at other times, the four poor white women captives were made to undergo indescribable sufferings.

On the nineteenth of March two of Inkpadoota's shrewdest men visited Springfield to spy out the situation. All the people of the settlement except the Wood Brothers, were "forted up" in the houses of Wheeler and Thomas, but the traders derided the alarm and precautions of their neighbors. The two Indians went to the store, which they had visited a few weeks before, paid the debt they had contracted, and bought eighty dollars worth of merchandise, including a keg of powder and several pounds of trader's balls, (large round bullets of the caliber of a common shot gun) and buck shot. There were present in the store at the time George Wood, Nathaniel Frost and Jareb Palmer, the last two named living to record their recollections. Soon after Smoky Moccasin (Hamp-pah-Shota) came in and began an excited conversation with the other Indians. The latter seemingly became alarmed, closed their trading and hurried away. They paid for their purchase in gold coin, a currency somewhat rare at the time, and which they had doubtless obtained from the looting of the cabin of William Marble, one of their victims at Spirit Lake.

Friday, March 20, William Wood went up to the camp of Smoky Moccasin, who frightened at the situation, had the previous day, removed his tepees to Coursalle's trading post for company and better protection. Replying to Wood's questions, Smoky Moccasin said that the two Indians he had met in Wood's store the previous day had told him that they had raided the Spirit Lake settlements, and killed all the inmates, except four young women, prisoners without having one of their number injured in any manner. They said the fight commenced about

some hay, which the Indians attempted to take without leave. Coursalle expressed the opinion that the Indians had gone westward across the Big Sioux, to avoid the troops from Fort Ridgely but Smoky Moccasin said he feared they were lingering somewhere in the neighborhood and intended more mischief. "At any rate" said the Moccasin, "I am going to remain close to my camp for awhile.

Matters were quiet at Springfield and no suspicious signs observed for several days. The settlers concluded to go down to Spirit Lake, and bury the bodies of their neighbors, if the wolves had not already disposed of them. Smoky Moccasin volunteered to accompany the party, and the Wood Brothers were also to go. On Tuesday, the twenty-fourth, Nathanial Frost and William Nelson left with a two-horse sled for Slocum's, on the Watonwan, to bring in a load of flour and other provisions which had been abandoned at that point some time before. This reduced the fighting force to eleven men; six of these were "forted up" at the Thomas house; one was at Sheigley's one, at Wheeler's; one at Stewart's and two at Wood's. The next day Smoky Moccasin came to the store, and said that he had been informed that Inkpadoota and his band were again encamped at Spirit Lake, and engaged in drying beef; therefore, it would be unsafe for the settlers to go down to bury the dead; that if the settlers persisted in going, he would not accompany them. George Wood carried the Indian's message to the Thomas house, and said neither he nor his brother would go.

During the forenoon of March 26 the settlers busied themselves in chopping and hauling wood, bringing in forage for the stock, and otherwise preparing for further isolation. The soldiers from Fort Ridgely were expected every day, and there was something of a feeling of security. There was a good supply of firearms and ammunition, also provisions. The day was bright and fine, and the inmates of the Thomas house, men, women and children, were out of doors.

Early that morning, from their camp at Heron Lake, Inkpadoota and all his men set out to destroy the hamlet of Springfield to murder all the whites but the young women (who were to be

worse than murdered), and to carry off all the loot possible. They rode into the river timber, which shielded, the hamlet on the east side of the Des Moines, and their scouts stole stealthily up and reconnoitered the situation. A little time after noon they were ready. While some of the whites at the Thomas house were out of doors, they saw approaching, in citizen's dress, a man whom they at first believed to be Henry Tretz, one of the messengers who had been dispatched to Fort Ridgely. Nearly all the whites, men, women and children, ran out of doors to welcome the messenger, hoping he had good news for them, David Carver, called out, "Yes, it's Henry Tretz." Instantly, and startlingly, of course, came a volley from the thirteen guns of Inkpadoota and his men, who had crawled up and hidden themselves behind trees, outbuildings and other places of concealment. Little Willie Thomas was shot through the head, and instantly killed; Mr. Thomas was shot through the wrist, the wound eventually necessitating amputation of the arm; a ball went through the arm of David Carver, and lodged in his body, and was never extracted. Miss Drusilla Swanger was shot through the right shoulder, the bullet grazing the collar bone, and she also received two less severe buckshot wounds. The wounded and others ran hastily into the Thomas house, and barricaded the doors and windows. Port holes were made by removing pieces of chinking from between the log walls. There were only three men unhurt, Jareb Palmer, Bradshaw and Morris Markham, but there were plenty of loaded guns. The men began firing at the places where the puffs of smoke showed the Indians were. In his excitement Carver did not know he was wounded until he tried to use his gun. Thomas was helpless from his wound.

It is most gratifying to state that all of the inmates of the Thomas house defended themselves bravely; when the women did what they could. Mrs. Louisa Church assisted in the defense by loading the guns, and by firing them at the enemy. She got one shot at a savage who exposed himself from behind a tree and as he dropped to the ground, it was hoped she had hit him but unfortunately she missed, and the Indian returned to the band at Heron Lake unharmed. A published statement that

the Indian was killed, and his skeleton afterwards found, has no foundation in fact. The other women, with one exception, continued to load and hand guns to the three defenders, and later during the day, when the ammunition was running low, they melted lead and molded bullets. The exception stated she was too weak to fight, but she was willing to pray, and so she was upon her knees, fervently petitioning the God of Battles to help until the fight closed.

Meanwhile the red-skinned outlaws had better success in other parts of the hamlet. The confidence of the Wood Brothers in the Indian friendship, their kind services for the wretches, whom nobody else would assist, availed nothing. They were both brutally murdered. From certain circumstances, it seemed that when the firing began at the Thomas house, William Wood, who always believed that Inkpadoota and his gang were more sinned against than sinning, started to cross the river to see what was the matter. As he reached the nearest bank he was ruthlessly shot; then his murderers threw the body on a brush heap, which they set on fire, and had rare fun watching the corpse as it was consumed. The soldiers who buried the remains found in the ashes of the fire, a twenty-dollar gold piece, which had been struck and indented by a bullet as it probably rested in Mr. Wood's pocket. This coin eventually came into the ownership of Charles E. Flandrau, who had it in his possession at the time of his death. George Wood, seeing his brother murdered, evidently attempted to reach his white brethren; he crossed the river but the Indians got between him and the Thomas house, and so he sought to hide himself, and crawled into a brush heap. The Indians followed him, and mercilessly murdered him, although mercifully giving him but one bullet through the head, and not mutilating his body, or attempting to burn it.

When the alarm was first given, Josiah Stewart, his wife and three children, took refuge with the others in the Thomas house. After a time, under the discomfort and excitement of the occasion, Mrs. Stewart, who was in a delicate condition, became hysterical, almost to the point of insanity, and it was

necessary for Mr. Stewart to take her and his children back to their own house. While the Indians were investing the Thomas house, three of them, one in citizen's dress, who could speak a little English, went to Stewart's cabin, half a mile distant from Thomas'. Stewart was asked by the one who spoke English to sell the Indians a hog, and a handful of gold coins was shown him, as evidence that he would be paid. As the settler stepped into his door-yard, to go to the pig pen with the savage, the latter's two companions, who were in hiding, fired together, and Mr. Stewart fell dead. Hearing the shots, Mrs. Stewart, with her twenty-months baby in her arms, followed by her two other children, ran frantically out, and threw herself upon the bleeding corpse of her husband. The Indians made short but bloody work of her and her infant. Johnny Stewart, eight years old, ran around the house, to the back of the lot, and hid himself so completely that the savages did not see him. The child had its skull crushed and its throat cut, and a knife thrust into the body. The Indians then went to help their comrades at the Thomas house.

Some hours after the Indians left, little Johnnie Stewart cautiously ventured from his hiding place toward the Thomas house. When he was crawling up in the darkness to the cabin, the men thought he was an Indian, and were about to shoot him, when his identity was discovered and he was admitted. From him was learned the particulars of the murder of the other members of the Stewart family. Eventually he was adopted into the family of Major Williams of Fort Dodge, the leader of the expedition of the Iowans to Spirit Lake.

The Indian attack on the Thomas house was kept up for an hour or more. Both their firing and that of the whites was ineffective. The whites were behind strong log walls, through which the Indian bullets could not pass, and the Indians were hidden so well that they could not be seen. Towards evening the firing of the Indians ceased, and they were seen in the direction of the Wheeler house, engaged in driving off the horses of the settlers. Very soon they were on their way back in great triumph to their camp at Heron Lake. The devil took care of

his own and not one of them had even been grazed with a bullet. As they passed the Wheeler cabin,[1] they stopped long enough to empty their guns into it, and they killed an ox standing by the house; some of their bullets passed through the thin boards of the door, and into the opposite wall, barely missing Mr. Henderson, whose legs had been amputated, and who was lying on a bed. In her book, "The Spirit Lake Massacre" Miss Gardner says, p. 148:

> After an absence of two days the warriors who had gone to the attack on Springfield returned, bringing in their plunder. They had twelve horses, heavily laden with dry goods, groceries, powder, lead, bed quilts, wearing apparel, provisions, etc. They gave us to understand that they had met with a repulse, but to what extent we could not conjecture. They said they had killed but one woman. Among their plunder were several bolts of red calico, and red flannel (evidently taken from the Wood Brothers store), and red leggings, red shirts, and red in every conceivable way was the style as long as that flannel lasted.

Some hours after nightfall the beleaguered people in the Thomas and Wheeler houses determined to evacuate Springfield, and try to make their way to the Iowa towns of Webster City and Fort Dodge. They were so afraid of a return attack by the Indians, that they chose to risk their lives in a long and arduous trip on foot through deep snow across bleak and storm-swept prairies, with the possibility of an Indian attack en route, rather than remain and confront the dozen wretches again from behind strong sheltering walls. The demoralization among the people must have been complete. Jareb Palmer, who was one of the inmates of the Thomas residence, thus describes the dessolation of that house: (See Historical Atlas of Jackson County, Minn., Inter State Pub. Co. 1887, p. 11).

> Just before nightfall we saw some one coming from towards the Wheeler cabin. He turned out to be Johnny Stewart. * * * He said that as he had come by the Wheeler cabin, he was hallooed at by some one inside, whom he thought was an Indian, and then he had

[1]The Wheeler cabin had been built by William T. Wheeler, a lawyer of Newton, Iowa. He made a claim at Springfield, built the cabin, but never became a permanent resident. Henry Tretz had charge of his interests here.

run down the road toward the Thomas cabin. Soon after the boy's arrival we discovered Mr. Sheigley going from his house toward the Wheeler cabin, where his boy was being taken care of. We called him to us, and he informed us that the Indians had not been to his cabin, and that he knew nothing of the attack; that he had been at Wheeler's cabin at 11 o'clock, when all was well there; but that he had heard firing in the direction of Wood Bros., store. * * * We now supposed we were the only white persons alive in the settlement.

We finally concluded to make an effort to escape; some of us, myself among the number, thought we had better remain where we were until relief came, though there was no certainty that relief would come. * * * Mr. John Bradshaw, assisted by a boy of Mr. Thomas' went out, yoked up a team of oxen, hitched them to a sled, and drove up to the door. [Mrs. Sharp and other writers say that it was Morris Markham who went out and brought up the oxen and sled]. We then put the wounded Mr. Thomas, Mr. Carver and Miss Swanger—and some of the smallest children into the sled and struck out about 9 o'clock. The night was dark and foggy, and the snow was deep.

After toiling through the snow till daylight, this party made but three miles. Mr. Palmer was sent on to Granger's Point, and returning with Mr. Granger, and his team, met all of the fugitives tramping along, their oxen having given out; soon after Dr. Strong, who had been at the Wheeler house, but whose family was with the Thomas party, was encountered. He had deserted the Wheeler party when he was led to believe that his family had been murdered at the Thomas house, and set out towards Iowa to save himself. He had been in attendance at the Wheeler house upon Smith and Henderson when the attack commenced. He and his companions heard the firing at the Thomas house, and received a volley from the Indians in the evening as the latter were leaving for their camp at Heron Lake. The night was spent in apprehension and terror. The next morning Mrs. Smith went over to the Thomas house, and returned with the information that she saw the dead body of Willie Thomas in the door yard, and that the house had been deserted. Thereupon Dr. Strong incontinently fled. Gue's History of Iowa, p. 307, Vol. 1, says Dr. Strong was the only coward among the settlers at Springfield; but the best evidence shows there were others.

There was now but one able-bodied man left at the Wheeler house, and this was J. B. Skinner. The other inmates were, Mrs. Skinner, Mrs. William Nelson and her child, Mrs. Robert Smith and her crippled husband, whose leg had been recently amputated, John Henderson, who had lost both legs, and the little son of the widower, Adam P. Sheigley. Mr. Skinner and the three women determined to attempt an escape to the Iowa settlements. They had no team and no way to transport the wounded men and the Sheigley boy; Mrs. Nelson said she could carry her child. So, under the circumstances, the wounded men and the boy were abandoned, and Skinner and the three women set out. Robert Smith tried to follow and stumped along on his one leg for a few hundred yards, but the amputated limb gave him so much trouble that he had to give up the attempt, and return to the cabin, and join his mutilated companion Henderson. Smith's wife wished to remain with her husband, but he bade her save herself, saying that she could do nothing that would be of so much service to him as to hurry forward to the Iowa settlements, and send him relief. The Sheigley boy made his way to the house of another settler, who had not been disturbed by the massacre, and was eventually restored to his father. The second day out, they joined the party from the Thomas house, in which was Sheigley, who returned to Springfield to search for his little boy. The united party went on to Granger's cabin, where they remained for two days.

Continuing their flight towards Fort Dodge, on March 30 they met the relief expedition of Iowa volunteers under Major William Williams, en route to Spirit Lake, as before stated. Among the volunteers was J. M. Thatcher, of Lake Okoboji, whose wife and child were victims of the massacre; the wife having been made a prisoner and put to death several days subsequently, after a period of dreadful suffering. William Church, of Springfield, was another volunteer, and to his great joy his wife, who had helped defend the Thomas house, was one of the fugitives here met, and his children were with her.

Dr. Bissell, the surgeon of the Iowa volunteers, dressed the wounds of Thomas and Carver and Miss Swanger, and as these

injuries had been inflicted four days previously, and had not before received surgical attention, they were in bad condition. The bullet wound in the shoulder received by Miss Swanger had become badly inflamed, but she had bravely tramped through the snow, and endured all the other privations of the flight without a murmur. An escort was sent with the party to the Irish colony, some miles below, and eventually all the Springfield fugitives reached the Iowa towns safely. Mrs. Smith turned back with the volunteers, and returned to Springfield to rescue her crippled husband, whom she had been forced to abandon. She fortunately found him alive, and he and Henderson (the man who had lost both legs) were finally taken to Iowa.

Jareb Palmer writes:

I think none of the families returned that summer, and that Dr. Strong's was the only family here at the time of the Indian murders that returned here to live, and they did not remain long. (Historical Atlas of Jackson Co. p. 12).

Early on the morning after their return from Springfield to their camp on Heron Lake, the Indians set out for their old haunts towards the Northwest. The first day everybody rode; the next day the sleds had to be abandoned on account of the roughness of the country, and the captives, and some of the Indian women were made to walk, and to bear heavy burdens. The provisions taken from the whites lasted about four weeks; when they gave out, the skunk and muskrat diet was resumed, and the supply of these rations was always inadequate to the demand; many of the ponies died, and Mrs. Sharpe says their carcasses were eaten. Finally, the buffalo grounds, in the James River country, were reached, and then there was more feasting.

At the crossing of the Big Sioux River, directly west of the Red Pipestone Quarry, Mrs. Thatcher, one of the Okoboji captives, a young wife only nineteen years of age, was pushed from a foot log over the stream into the icy water, where she was clubbed, beaten and finally shot to death. On the sixth of May while the band was in camp at The Lake with a Grove of Big Trees (M'da Chan-Pta-Ya Tonka) sometimes called Skunk

Lake, two Wahpaton Indians, brothers named, "Roaring Cloud" and "Gray Foot," purchased from Inkpadoota, Mrs. Marble, the most comely, and attractive of the prisoners, and conveyed her finally to Yellow Medicine, from whence she was taken to St. Paul. The Indian brothers received $500 cash each for their services.

About a month later, the Inkpadoota band fell in with a small party of Yankton Sioux, and sold both Mrs. Noble and Miss Gardner to one of them, a one-legged Indian, named Snake End. A few nights later Inkpadoota's son, the Roaring Walking Cloud, went to Snake End's tepee where Mrs. Noble and Miss Gardner were, and demanded that Mrs. Noble accompany him out of doors for his loathsome purposes. She refused, and the beast seized and dragged her forth and beat her to death with a big club. Then he returned to the Yankton tepee, quarreled with the one-legged owner about what he had done, washed his bloody hands, and lay down to sleep. Mrs. Noble was about twenty years old, an educated young lady, and a devout Christian, spending much of the time of her captivity in prayer and singing hymns. Mrs. Sharpe (nee Gardner) who was present when Mrs. Noble was murdered, gives a full but painful account of the incident in her little book entitled the "Spirit Lake Massacre."

On the James River, near where is now the present site of Ashton, in Spink County, South Dakota, the few Yanktons having Miss Gardner in charge, joined one of their largest villages, having 190 tepees. May 30 three Sioux Indians, John Other Day, Iron Hawk and Pleasant Voice, who had been sent out by Agent Flandrau for the purpose, purchased Miss Gardner from her owners, paying for her, four horses, a wagon, and other property amounting to about $900; she too was taken to St. Paul, and finally restored to her friends. The Territory paid all the expenses involved in the redemption and delivery of Mrs. Marble, and Miss Gardner. The body of Mrs. Noble was found wrapped in blankets and buried by the three Indians that rescued Miss Gardner.

Chapter XII.

AFTER THE MASSACRE.

SOLDIERS SENT TO SPRINGFIELD.

JOSEPH Cheffins and Henry Tretz, the messengers sent from Springfield to inform the authorities of the Spirit Lake massacre, and that the murderous Indians were still in the country, left Springfield March 11, but did not reach the Lower Agency, east of the Redwood, until the eighteenth. The trip was made on foot through the deep snow, and was most tedious and toilsome. The direct distance between Springfield and the Lower Agency was not more than seventy miles, but the route the messengers were forced to take was more, than one hundred miles, and under the circumstances fifteen miles a day was good traveling. When they arrived at the agency they were almost sightless from snow blindness. As soon as he was informed of the situation Agent Flandrau took efficient action. In a sleigh he drove at once to Fort Ridgely, fourteen miles distant, and conferred with Colonel E. B. Alexander, of the Tenth Infantry, then commanding the post. Colonel Alexander ordered Company D of the Tenth Infantry commanded by Captain Bernard E. Bee and Lieutenant Alexander Murry, (not Murray) to be ready to start for Springfield and Spirit Lake at once. The order was received by Captain Bee at 9 o'clock on the morning of the nineteenth and in three hours and a half he was en route with forty-eight men of his company in sleighs drawn by mules.

Captain Bee was a South Carolinian and a graduate of West Point; he was an intelligent and capable officer and very brave and determined. When South Carolina seceded he resigned from the army and became a Brigadier General in the Confederate Service. He was killed in the First Battle of Bull Run, while endeavoring to hold his brigade in line. It was he who gave "Stonewall Jackson" his soubriquet. "For God's sake stand, men," shouted Bee to his command; "Stand like Jackson's brigade, on your right," he continued; "there they stand like a stone wall," Lieutenant Murry, was a Pennsylvanian; he had attended West Point, but failed to graduate, and had been appointed to the army from civil life.

Agent Flandrau and his interpreter, Philander Prescott, accompanied the soldiers. The route which they were forced to take, in order to follow a road or beaten track, was long, circuitous and very toilsome and difficult to traverse. The snow lay in heavy masses, and in places the road was blocked by drifts ten feet high. At Little Rock a guide was secured in the person of young Joseph La. Framboise, a half-breed, who knew the country well, but it was difficult for him to follow a road, or trail covered by four feet of snow. The route taken was down the Minnesota by way of New Ulm, to Mankato, and thence up the valley of the Watonwan, by way of Isaac Slocum's cabin, which was on the Watonwan, a few miles southwest of Madelia, and forty miles northeast of Springfield, and which was the farthest white habitation in that quarter from Mankato.

Flandrau and Prescott went as far as Slocum's, and believing it useless to continue farther turned back. The agent advised Captain Bee to turn back also, and promised to justify him before the authorities; but the faithful Captain stoutly replied: "My orders are to go to Spirit Lake, and to do what I can; it is not for me to interpret orders, except to obey them. I shall go on until it becomes physically impossible to proceed farther." (See Flandrau's article on "The Ink-pa-doo-ta Massacre of 1857;" Minn. Hist. Soc. Coll. Col. 3, p. 391). The little South Carolinian, who was but five feet six in height, continued pluckily on, wading through the snow up to his waist

and enduring all of the other privations of the march resignedly and even cheerfully. According to his official and printed report (See Senate Docs. 1st Sess. 35th Cong. Vol. 2, p. 305) the narrative of a single day's march is the history of the whole.

The little command waded through snow-drifts, often cutting through them with spade and shovel; extricating mules and sleighs from sloughs and drifts; dragged the sleighs up steep hills and over bare spots; marched in four close ranks through deep snow to break a road for the teams; were up from early morning until late at night; and camped, ate and slept in the snow, all without a murmur.

In the evening of March 28, Captain Bee reached Coursalle's (or Gaboo's) trading post, and the little Indian village adjacent, Coursalle informed the officer, that Inkpadoota and his band, had cleaned out the settlement at Springfield and retired to their camp at Heron Lake, twenty-five miles away, intending ultimately to join the Yanktons, who it was said were fighting the whites over on the Missouri. Although almost exhausted from his trying march Captain Bee determined to pursue, and if possible overtake the Indians before going to Springfield, where, as he was informed, there was nobody but dead people; let the dead bury the dead until after vengeance had been taken upon those who killed them.

At "retreat" (6 P. M.) he called for twenty volunteers to start early next morning after the Indians. The whole company of forty-eight men stepped promptly forward, jaded and footsore though they were. The next morning Captain Bee and Lieutenant Murry, with La Framboise and Coursalle for guides and all the men, including the teamsters, who led thirteen mules, to be used as mounts for that number of men if the Indians should flee away when discovered, set out for the Indian camp on Heron Lake, guided by Coursalle, they went straight across the country, shortening the distance to fifteen miles, and surrounded the site of the recent Indian camp at 10 o'clock. "The camp was there," says Captain Bee, "with all its traces of plunder and rapine, books, scissors, articles of female apparel, furs and traps." There were the marks of seven tepees. This

was Sunday afternoon, and the Indians had left the morning of the previous day. The guides thought they had been gone for two days.

Four miles distant to the northwestward was another lake and grove the guides said the Indians might be there. Lieutenant Murry took ten men and Coursalle, and went forward, and beat up the grove, but found no Indians. Coursalle thought they had been gone for at least twenty-four hours perhaps for two days. Yet while he was speaking the miscreants, with their hapless prisoners, were only four miles distant to the westward. In a communication to the *Pioneer and Democrat* of St. Paul of May 16, 1857, Captain Bee says of the conduct of Coursalle on this occasion: "Gaboo was in front of my men, his double-barreled gun in his hand, his whole demeanor convinced me that he had come out to fight, his life, he told me, had been threatened by the Indians. Of the charge that Mrs. Coursalle was seen wearing a shawl belonging to Mrs. Church, the Captain says it "only existed in the imagination of one or two settlers. All the Indian squaws were robed in Indian blankets."

Miss Gardner describes the incidents as follows:

The soldiers under Lieutenant Murry reached the place left by us in the morning at 3 P. M. When their presence was discovered there was the wildest excitement. The squaws poured water on the fires, tore down the tents, packed the plunder, and with the Indian wounded at Okoboji, presumably by Dr. Harriott, and a sick child, hastened from the camp down the creek and skulked and squatted like partridges among the willows. Had the soldiers followed our trail they would not have discovered us until in our very midst. We were encamped in a low piece of ground by a small stream. Between us and the soldiers was a high rolling prairie, so that they could not see our camp until they were almost right upon it. But the Indians could, and did see the soldiers, and all their movements. One warrior climbed a tree and reported every move. The rest of the warriors and the prisoners remained in camp; the warriors had loaded their guns and were prepared for battle; one Indian stood over us and we were plainly told that if a battle took place he would kill us at the outset. It was an hour and half before the situation changed; then it was announced that the soldiers had turned back. The Indians at once began to prepare for further flight. They took only the most valuable and necessary of the baggage, marched hard, stopped only at long intervals, and

then but a few hours, and did not pitch their tents and go into regular camp for two days and nights.

Upon the return and report of Lieutenant Murry; Captain Bee concluded to give over the pursuit of the Indians because he thought they were at least two days' march away and it would be impossible to overtake them. Their camp fires had been extinguished by pouring water upon them, and this caused the ashes and embers to assume an appearance of having gone out a considerable time before. Even the shrewd and experienced guides, La Framboise and Coursalle, had been deceived.

There can be but speculation as to what would have been the result had the soldiers gone on, and a fight ensued. The forces were nearly equal, about a dozen men on each side. The Indians would have known it was a fight to a finish, the whites would have fought to the death. The Indians would have had the great advantage of delivering the first fire from a concealed position, perhaps they would have won the fight. The four white women would certainly have been tomahawked; but even this heavy price for a victory would have been greatly profitable to the whites. The Indians would have believed that the whites could not be murdered or injured with impunity, but that vengeance for an outrage upon them was sure to follow. It is clear, however, that Captain Bee was justified in his action; he was deceived, as was everybody, into the belief that the Indians were two days' march distant from him, and under the circumstances could not be overtaken by his little force. The following morning after Lieutenant Murry came so near to, but yet so far from, the Indians, Captain Bee sent him forward with twenty men to Spirit Lake to bury the dead there. The body of Mr. Marble at Spirit Lake, was the only one found and buried by this detachment. The Iowa volunteers had buried the bodies at Okoboji.

The captain himself with the remainder of the company went to Springfield, or "Des Moines" City; here, on March 30, he found the poor legless blizzard victims, Henderson and Smith, four days after the Indian attack. They had been in the Wheeler cabin during that time, alone and unaided, save for the brief

visit of Mr. Sheigley, who had cut some beef from the carcass of a dead ox killed by the Indians, and broiled it for them.

Captain Bee buried the bodies of the dead at Springfield, including those of the Stewart family and of George Wood; the remains of Mr. Wood, hidden in a brush pile, were not found until later. In his report the Captain says: "It was one of the saddest moments of my life when I saw the Stewart family dead by their cold hearthstone, but then and there my conscience told me that they had met their fate by no fault of mine." While the captain and his men were toiling through the difficult drifts in the Watonwan Valley on March 26, the members of the Stewart family were being murdered. The Arctic snows of 1857 were in part responsible for the tragedy.

There accompanied Captain Bee from the neighborhood of Isaac Slocum's to Springfield some of the settlers of the place, who had been absent at the time of the Indian attack, and he sent one of them, whose name is not given, after the fugitives who had escaped to Iowa, to inform them that the Indians were no longer in the country, that a guard of soldiers would be left at Springfield, and that they might return in safety. "On the strength of these assurances" says the captain. "some returned [names not given] and reported that all would return if the guard was to be permanent. I could give them no information on that head, but stated, that I would take the responsibility, of leaving an officer, two non-commissioned officers, and twenty-six privates, but that further action must come from my military superiors."

Lieutenant Murry was the officer left in charge. He remained until about April 20, when he was relieved by Lieutenant John McNab, of the Tenth Infantry, and a detachment of twenty men that remained at Springfield until late in the fall. Captain Bee, with the remainder of his company arrived at Fort Ridgely April 8, having been absent three weeks.

GREAT INDIAN SCARE IN SOUTHWEST MINNESOTA.

Intelligence of the Indian forays on Spirit Lake and Springfield was slowly disseminated through Minnesota. The attack on

Okoboji was made March 8, and that on Springfield March 26, but it was nearly two weeks after the latter date before the news had spread through the valleys of the Watonwan and the Blue Earth, and not until April 17 was it received at St. Paul and published in the newspapers. The startling reports created great excitement and alarm throughout the scattered and weak settlements of Southwestern Minnesota.

The greater proportion of the settlers were foreigners, Welch, Germans and Norwegians, having but slight knowledge of the English language, uninformed as to Indians and the Government regulations over them, unfamiliar with firearms, and peaceably disposed towards all mankind. They were scattered over a considerable extent of country, where the best claims were, and often their houses were three or four miles apart. The bloody news terrorized them, for it was said that there were from 300 to 400 Indians on the war-path, and they sent off to Mankato, to St. Peter and to Fort Ridgely for help.

In the northeastern corner of Watonwan County, lived four German families, those of Theodore Leisch, Philip Schaffer, Bischer, and—Boeckler. During the first part of April some half a dozen Indian families came down from Red Iron's village, in the neighborhood of Lac-qui-Parle, to the Three Lakes to trap muskrats, and to fish through the ice until it melted, and to make maple sugar when the sap should begin to run. When the report of what had occurred at Springfield reached this neighborhood, a rumor quickly spread that these Indians were on the war-path. In his sketch of the Inkpadoota massacres and of the events following Mr. Thomas Hughes, in his relation of this incident says:

> Joseph Cheffins, who after he had returned to Springfield from his trip to Fort Ridgely and the Agency, was on his way again to Mankato, chance to reach Slocum's house and had just finished his tale of the horrors which had been perpetrated at Springfield, when the rumor came that the Indians were sweeping down in great numbers from the West. He and others were dispatched at once to Mankato. Reaching Mankato Friday night. April 10th, Cheffins delivered his alarming message; which included a description of what he had seen at Springfield a few days before. The fire bell was rung to call the people of the village

together, a mass meeting was held at the log school-house, and as a result a company of 38 volunteers, with Dr. William F. Lewis, as captain, left next day for Slocum's cabin, on the Watonwan, four or five miles below the village of Madelia.

Captain Lewis's Mankato volunteers were armed with Territorial muskets and supplied with buck-and-ball cartridges from the military stores belonging to the Territory, and deposited at Mankato. On Saturday, April 12, a mounted company of forty volunteers from St. Peter, commanded by Captain William B. Dodd, and also armed with Territorial muskets, passed through Mankato on the way to Slocum's log fort. This company joined the Mankato company at Slocum's on Sunday evening.[1]

On Sunday morning Captain Lewis's company moved on the little Indian camp by Liesch and Schaffer's cabin, on the Three Lakes, where the occupants of the camp were making sugar from the maple trees. To the great surprise of the Indians the whites without warning opened fire on them the bullets flying promiscuously, but wildly, among the tepees and the women and children. Only one Indian, a man, was hit, and he had his arm badly hurt. The Indians soon began to return the fire, but their arms were loaded with bird shot, and they hit nobody. The whites too were well posted behind trees. In a little time both parties retreated. The dozen Indians, frightened half out of their wits did not stop until they reached their main village at Sleepy Eye Lake. Captain Lewis, with his forty men, one of whom had a slight wound in the hand from bird shot, rode back to Slocum's where he joined the St. Peter company, under Captain Dodd, and the two companies prepared to defend themselves against an Indian attack. On Monday, the thirteenth a company of thirty men from Traverse des Sioux, under Captain George McLeod, a big brave Canadian trader, passed through Mankato and went up the Blue Earth Valley. A company from New Ulm, under Francis Baasen, went out into Watonwan County to look for hostile Indians. McLeod's company, according to Hughes' account, went up to Blue Earth to

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([1]The Pioneer and Democrat of May 18th say both Lewis' and Dodd's companies were present.)

near the present site of Vernon, where they encountered a small band of Sissetons, the leader of whom, although he was not a chief, was named Sintommine Dootah, or Red All Over. This small group of savages had passed the winter in squalor and wretchedness in a camp at the junction of Perch Creek and the Watonwan, but had gone up to the maple groves of the Blue Earth as soon as the sap began to run. At once McLeod and his men attacked the Indians, who made no defense at all, men, squaws, papooses, ponies, dogs scampered away in astonishment and terror as fast as their feeble feet would carry them. One decrepit old squaw, and one half-starved pony could not keep up with the press, and fell captives to the doughty warriors from Traverse des Sioux. The remainder of the band was chased across the Watonwan toward the northwest.

The day of McLeod's victory, according to Hughes, a company of Welch and German settlers on the Little Cottonwood, under Colonel S. D. Shaw, as Captain, drove away from a point on that stream, a mile west of the Blue Earth County line, some Indians supposed at the time to be those encountered by Captain Lewis and the Mankato company on the Watonwan. After Captain Shaw and his men had driven off these Indians the body of a German settler named Brandt, who was a bachelor, was found in the brush back of his cabin. It was believed that he had been murdered by the Indians in retaliation for the attack on them by Captain Lewis.

About this time the people of Judson and Nicollet townships in Nicollet County, formed a company under Captain Bean and built a fort of saw logs, then they marched out to Swan Lake, where some Indians of Sleepy Eye's, or Rattling Moccasin's band were camped and demanded that they leave the country forthwith. Affrighted the Indians went to Fort Ridgely, and appealed to Colonel Alexander for protection. April 15, Captain Dodd, who had been appointed by Governor Gorman, a General of the Minnesota militia, sent a courier to Fort Snelling, asking the military authorities to at once dispatch a force to the Watonwan County. The Post Commander, Lieutenant Colonel Charles F. Smith, at once sent a battalion, or three companies

of the garrison, comprising a portion of the Tenth Infantry. The companies were Company "B," Captain Franklin Gardner; Company "H" Captain Albert Tracy; Company "E" Lieutenant N. A. M. Dudley. The battalion was under the general command of Captain Gardner the senior officer. He marched his command to Henderson, where he arrived April 16, but under orders did not leave until the seventeenth, reaching Mankato the next day, and the "seat of war," or rather the scene of the alarm, on the nineteenth.

Captain Gardner distributed his men well over the frightened district, and nearly marched the legs off them in futile endeavor to find a single Indian, or where one with hostile intent had been. The soldiers remained eleven days in the country; the effect of their visit and presence in the country was most beneficent. Confidence was restored; the fugitives returned to their homes and avocations; everybody was convinced that the alarm had been simply a big scare, without any cause, grounds, or justification whatever.

Captain Gardner was a native of New York, but had been appointed to West Point from Iowa. He had served very creditably in the army, especially during the Mexican War, and had been promoted for gallantry. When the Civil War came he resigned from the United States army, and entered the Confederate service, in which he rose to the rank of Major General. He was in command of the Confederate forces at Port Hudson, Louisiana, in the summer of 1863, and held that post against the persistent siege and attack of a largely superior Union force, under General Banks, for several weeks, or until the fall of Vicksburg made the surrender of Port Hudson necessary. General Gardner died in Louisiana in 1873.

Lieutenant Colonel Charles F. Smith had distinguished himself in the Mexican War; during the Civil War he became a Major General of Union volunteers, and rendered invaluable service in the Fort Donelson campaign. General Grant acknowledged that the capture of Fort Donelson was "emphatically due to General Smith." General Sherman writes in his "Memoirs" that, "had Charles F. Smith lived, Grant would have disappeared

from history after Donelson," but General Smith died three weeks after the Battle of Shiloh.

Meanwhile there had been a most formidable and injurious panic among the settlers in the Cottonwood, the Watonwan and the Blue Earth districts. The most alarming reports had been circulated by mendacious characters, who seemed to become frightened at their own lies. Hundreds of families south of the Minnesota abandoned their homes and fled to the north side. St. Peter, Traverse des Sioux, and Henderson abounded in these fugitives, while Mankato, New Ulm, and Shakopee were full of them. At one time the people of Henderson were badly frightened; an Indian and his wife were strolling through the village when the alarm was given that 300 other Indians were only a few miles distant bent on the destruction of the town. The man was at once arrested, and the poor woman was pursued, in her excitement and terror she plunged into the Minnesota, then half full of floating ice, and swam to the south bank, and hid herself in the woods. Hughes says that the news went to some towns in the eastern part of the Territory that Mankato and St. Peter had been captured and burned by 900 Yanktion and Sisseton Sioux, and that these savages were sweeping down the Minnesota Valley with torch and tomahawk.

Near Blue Earth City, on the twelfth of April, the people were roused in the night by the cry of panic-stricken messengers that the Indians were coming, and hurried from their beds, many of them scantily clad, and ran out upon the prairie. About forty families went into town; took possession of the hotel, the largest building in the place, and converted it into a sort of block house. The men had guns and plenty of ammunition, and were prepared to put up a good fight. J. B. Gillet was chosen Captain and S. B. Miller, who had seen service in the Mexican War was made the Lieutenant of the defenders. Some of the settlers did not stop at Blue Earth City, but went far down into Iowa. The senseless scare lasted until the twenty-second of April, when word was received of the near presence of Captain Gardner and his soldiers from Fort Snelling. At the same time the settlers about Winnebago City were "forted

up." There was great alarm felt at Le Sueur, and elswhere, and indeed throughout the country there were many incidents which in the light of the true situation were preposterous, ridiculous, but sometimes humorous.

All this time Inkpadoota, and his fellow wretches were safely out in the Dakota country, far removed from all danger. The band was insignificant in numbers, having but twelve warriors able to fight, and two of them were not more than fifteen and seventeen years of age respectively. The names of the fighting men were as follows:

Ink-pa-doo-ta, Scarlet End. Makh-pea-Ho-to Manne, or Roaring Walking Cloud, Makh-pea-Pay-tah, or Fire Cloud, Tah-Wah-chink-he-Waukon, or his Sacred Plume. Bah-hah-Tah, or His Old Man, Ke-chunk Manne, or Putting on Walking, Kah-Khdiya, or Rattling. E-tay-Tonka, or Big Face. Tah-tay-Shkope Kah-gah, Manne too obscene for translation, Tah-chank-che-gah-Ho-tah, or His Gray Drum. Hoo-sha, or Red Leg. Tah-tay E-yah-yah, or Shifting Wind. Two little boys of about ten and twelve respectively, sons of Inkpadoota.

The first two named above after Inkpadoota were his two sons; both were killed before the summer was over. Sacred Plum was an oldish man, about sixty, born on Cannon River, and had helped murder Chief Ta-sah-ghee; Shifting Wind was an outcast Sisseton, who had murdered his cousin, and fled from his band. These two were killed by Little Crow's Indians at Big Dry Wood Lake. Rattling and His Old Man were renegade Yanktons who had joined Inkpadoota, and married his daughters. Big Face was another son of Inkpadoota, and though only about sixteen years old was one of the most desperate characters in the band; he killed three persons at Lake Okoboji, and was one of the most lustful and cruel in the abuse of the captive women. Inkpadoota was born about 1800, and was therefore about fifty-seven years old at the time of the Spirit Lake and Springfield affairs. Mrs. Sharp [or Miss Gardner, as she was in 1857] describes him as a large strong man of coarse features and a cruel brutal cast of countenance; his face was thickly and deeply pitted by small pox scars, which added to his naturally

repulsive appearance. His eyesight was beginning to fail, and in less than twenty years he was totally blind.

By the tenth of May the soldiers had returned to their barracks, and the frightened fugitive settlers to their homes, and the great Indian Scare, as a "scare" was over. Indeed the majority of the soldiers and the members of the citizen companies, had returned by May 1, but Lieutenant Dudley, with Company E of the Tenth Infantry, remained out on the Watonwan until some days later. The Mankato volunteers reached home on the eighteenth of April.

In the meantime public interest had been greatly excited and stirred. The Territorial Legislature was in special session. April 27 a resolution introduced by Joseph R. Brown was passed by the Constitutional Convention requesting the United States authorities to at once remove all the Sioux Indians outside of their reservation on the Upper Minnesota to their proper location; to send a force of dragoons after Inkpadoota and his band; to station a force of mounted men in the Territory to protect the white settlements frm Indian attack, and to use all possible means to rescue the women captives held by the Indians. A similar resolution was passed by the Legislature, which body, on May 15, appropriated $10,000, or so much thereof as was necessary, out of an empty treasury, to be applied to the deliverance of the unfortunate prisoners. A week later Miss Marble was brought in, but her rescue had been fairly accomplished before the appropriation was made.

Chapter XIII.

FINAL OPERATIONS AGAINST INKPADOOTA.

UPON receipt of the reports of the massacre at Spirit Lake and Springfield, the authorities at Washington took the customary Government action in such cases involving much foolish etiquette and long delay. Agent Flandrau was ordered to investigate and report all the facts in the case, as if enough were not already known, and to suggest measures "best calculated to redress the grievances and prevent their recurrence in the future," as if this work was not properly the work of the War and Indian Departments without the interference of a subordinate. Major Flandrau had been appointed a Territorial Judge April 23, but he continued to perform the duties of Indian agent for some months later. August 27 he reported to Indian Commissioner J. W. Denver, suggesting that a force of not less than 400 mounted men be kept during the summer in the field between the Big Sioux and the James Rivers, and stationed the balance of the season at well selected posts on the frontier. He further suggested that in winter the troops should travel on snow shoes, and that their baggage and supplies should be hauled by dog trains, similar to those which often came down to St. Paul from Red River.

Previously, about the first of June, Flandrau and Colonel Alexander had planned a very elaborate expedition against Inkpadoota, and his formidable force of twelve men, then supposed to be in permanent camp at Skunk Lake, thirty miles west of Sioux Falls and the Big Sioux. The plans were thwarted, Colonel Alexander receiving a preemptory order directing him

to proceed as soon as possible to Fort Leavenworth, preparatory to joining Colonel Albert Sidney Johnston's expedition to Utah against the Mormons.

Governor Medary who had just assumed office tried earnestly to do something. He visited the Sioux reservations, spent some days among the Indians, and those best informed, and he proposed to the Government authorities at Washington to equip a mounted State force, and send it with a detachment of regular cavalry against the Indians. His proposition was summarily declined, by Secretary of War Floyd, and Commissioner Denver, July 22, instructed Special Agent Pritchette, "to notify the citizens of the Territory to refrain from any interference with the plans or arrangements of the military." The Commissioner hinted that the Government was about to send its own troops to hunt down the savage outcasts, and he asserted plainly that "the regular force will be adequate to the accomplishment of the object had in view."

The annuities due the Sioux under the Treaties of Traverse des Sioux and Mendota had commonly been paid at the agencies in the latter part of the month of June; these payments were always great occasions. Every Indian or mixed blood interested was present if it was possible, and numbers of white men, and always a considerable number of Winnebagoes were in attendance, hanging about for what they could pick up by any means. It was well known to all the Sioux and to many white men that Inkpadoota and his followers were land pirates and outlaws, but they were connected by marriage, and even nearer kinship with the Indians who lived peaceably and reputably, and blood, even though it be Indian blood, is thicker than water. When one of the Inkpadoota renegades slipped back into his father's or his uncle's tepee on the reservation, he was always cared for; sometimes he brought a companion, not a relative, but both were welcome and assisted. It is the nature of women to applaud the brave and often to admire the desperate.

The Missouri bandits of 1870-1880 and other atrocious characters, although their hands were stained with innocent blood, and their hearts calcined with careers of crime, had no difficulty

in wooing and marrying reputable and accomplished white women. Some of the Sioux girls of 1850-1860 came to admire certain of Inkpadoota's young men, because of their savage reputation, the big stories told of the number they had killed. From time to time a married man, because of an outrage, had fled to Inkpadoota, and afterwards his wife joined him.

In 1855 Inkpadoota and his gang, then numbering some twenty warriors, camped on the Upper Redwood and sent word to their old neighbors, relatives, and fellow members of the Wah-pa-koota band that they meant to share as beneficiaries of the impending payment. Partly because of former association, but largely because of fear if they refused, the Wah-pa-kootas consented, and Scarlet and Sacred Plume, and all the rest participated in the distribution of the Government money and supplies. In 1856, this time with but eleven warriors, Inkpadoota re-appeared and shared in the payment. His camp was on the Upper Yellow-Medicine, some miles from the Agency, and the entire party decamped the next day after they had received their annuity money and supplies. Roaring Cloud, Inkpadoota's son, took a wife with him from the Wah-pa-koota camp on this occasion.

In June, 1857, the Indians were in their usual state of expectancy, regarding the payment. Those from Southeastern Minnesota came up and went into temporary camp at the Lower Agency; the Sissetons from Traverse and Big Stone Lakes swarmed down about Yellow Medicine. Great and intense was the general surprise, disappointment and indignation when it was announced that there would be no payment until the Sioux themselves should follow up and overtake Inkpadoota and his band, and either kill them or return them as prisoners to the whites! General J. W. Denver, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, was the author of this cowardly, unjust and even cruel scheme. Incapable of formulating and executing a plan whereby white forces should accomplish the arrest and punishment of the red outlaws, he resorted to this device, which was a combination of force and blackmail, and an unprecedented injustice towards an innocent people, striving to live in peace and amity with the

whites. He had given over his declared design of sending white troops of the regular service to apprehend the savages, because he did not know how to manage such a matter. There were 10,000 brave spirits among the citizens of the Territory ready and even eager to arm and mount themselves and follow the miscreants to death, but Denver and Floyd would not allow a man of them to go. The Indians of course construed the Commissioner's order as an open confession of cowardice, fear and weakness on the part of the whites. Though their white brethren were as numerous as the leaves on the trees, they were afraid to follow up only a dozen Indians, although every Indian had murdered and mutilated their countrymen, and ravished and killed their countrywomen.

They knew the details of the great public panic into which the Southern Minnesota settlers had been thrown by a mere rumor; they knew that the settlers of Spirit Lake and Springfield had not killed or seriously wounded one of their murderous assailants, who had killed more than forty white people; and now had come the Denver order to Superintendent Cullen and Agent Flandrau. No wonder that the white man's bravery, courage, and disposition to revenge a great injury were commented upon in terms of contempt by the Indians. There were not twenty-five men and women of all the 5,000 annuity Indians that did not dislike, or hate, the Inkpadoota gang; but they objected to redressing the wrongs of the whites when the whites were quite able, and ought to attend to such matters themselves. But after a few days of refusal and protest the Indians agreed to send a force of their men after Inkpadoota, if they were accompanied by some white soldiers. This proposition was rejected by Colonel Alexander, because there were then, July 9, only twenty-five infantry soldiers, and the men of Sherman's battery at Fort Ridgely, and only a small number at Fort Snelling. No attempt was made to enlist citizens for special service.

The unwise and almost senseless policy of the Government in sending only foot soldiers for the garrisons of the Minnesota forts was now more than ever apparent. For the Indian service fifty cavalrymen would have been of far more efficiency in re-

pressing or punishing an outrage than ten times their number of infantry, and of proportionately less expense. The infantry might have all been sent out of the Territory. They were ineffective against mounted Indians, and they were not needed to preserve the public peace and order among the whites, for in those days there were no mobs or riots, and government by Federal injunction was unknown.

ONE OF INKPADOOTA'S SONS KILLED.

The Indian situation became exciting and even threatening. The annual payment should have been made about the middle of June, and then there were 5,000 Indians on the reservations at that time anxious to receive it. When Commissioner Denver's demand was made upon them conditions were intensified. About the first of July an incident occurred that added to the excitement, and to the serious condition of affairs.

On the twenty-ninth of July Roaring Cloud, the eldest son of Inkpadoota, and the murderer of Mrs. Noble, made his way to an outlying camp of Sissetons, on the Upper Yellow Medicine; he brought his wife with him and the object of his visit was to ascertain whether or not his band would be allowed to receive annuities at the coming payment, as in 1856 and 1855. The nerve of the proposition did not seem to him to be extraordinary or remarkable. The camp where he made his quarters consisted of six tepees and the inmates were all related to his wife. Agent Flandrau, then of the Lower Agency, was informed that not only Roaring Cloud, but all of the Scarlet End band were at Yellow Medicine. Flandrau at once went to Fort Ridgely, and obtained from Colonel Alexander a detail of fifteen soldiers under Lieutenant Alexander Murry, and at once preparations were made to capture or destroy the outlaws. Flandrau was of course chief in command of the little expedition. He had with him his interpreter, Antoine Joseph Campbell (commonly called "Joe Campbell"), the interpreter's brothers John and Hippolite Campbell, three or four citizen volunteers, and the little platoon of soldiers. The latter were transported

from and returned to the fort in government wagons; the others were on horseback. Arriving near the camp the ever faithful and brave Indian, John Other Day, was encountered; he had been sent out from Yellow Medicine to guide the party. He said that only two or three of Inkpadoota's band were in the camp on the Upper Yellow Medicine, five miles from the Agency. Arriving at the Indian camp, Other Day virtually directed operations. He caused the mounted men to charge upon the tepees, and had the soldiers ready to fire upon any one that should attempt to run away. As the charge was made Roaring Cloud ran from a tepee, with his gun in one hand and his wife's hand in the other, and suceeded in reaching the brush along the stream. Other Day at once called out: "That's our man," and the soldiers began firing. Roaring Cloud had a double-barreled gun, and he fired four ineffective shots, but was soon riddled with bullets, and a soldier finished him with a bayonet thrust. His wife was made a prisoner, and placed in a wagon to be conveyed to the Agency. En route, in passing through the Indian camps, she began screaming, and her relatives and others swarmed about her with angry menaces, and hostile demonstrations, and enforced her release fairly from under the guns and bayonets of the soldiers. The Indian camps were thrown into a state of intense exciement by the general condition of affairs. To Agent Flandrau the situation seemed so serious, that he sent to Fort Ridgely for Sherman's Battery[1] and not until its arrival at the Lower Agency did the Agent and his assistants feel themselves safe. Captain Sherman had about sixty men with him, and in a few days, or July 13, this little command was reenforced by a company of the Second Regular Infantry, under Captain George W. Patten. This company formed a part of the battalion of the regiment, four companies, under the command of Lieutenant Colenel Abercrombie, and had marched across the country from Fort Randall en route to

[1]At the battle of Buena Vista, during the Mexican War, this battery, then commanded by Captain Braxton Bragg, who was subsequently the famous Confederate General, was greatly distinguished for its efficiency.

JOHN OTHER DAY.

Fort Ridgely, to take the place of Colonel Alexander and the Tenth Regiment, as the garrison of that post. Both the Tenth Regiment and Sherman's battery had been ordered to Fort Leavenworth.

PERILOUS AND CRITICAL TIME.

The presence of the soldiers seemed only to further exasperate the Indians. On the fifteenth a Sisseton passing an infantryman, who, as he thought, looked at him contemptuously, wheeled about and buried his knife in the soldier, wounding him seriously. An officer was sent to the Sisseton camp to demand the assailant, but 200 armed warriors lined up and presented their guns at the messenger, and forced him to return, promising however to deliver the offender the next morning.

The next day, the sixteenth, the Sissetons and Wahpatons, about 2,500, painted and armed warriows, came from Yellow Medicine to the Lower Agency, and demanded a council with Superintendent Cullen and the other authorities. Major Sherman met them, and told them that the Superintendent would not council with them so long as they held guns in their hands. Superintendent Cullen then went to them, demanding that they at once lay aside their arms, deliver the offending Indian, who was defiantly present, and then he would council with them. The Indians replied that they would deliver their accused brother only to Major Sherman, "the big soldier," and the Major stepped forward to receive him. The savage stood in front of the Indian line, his arms folded and a bad look in his eyes. It was afterwards stated that his right hand, hidden by his left arm, grasped the knife with which he had stabbed the soldier, and that he designed that when Major Sherman came close to him he would suddenly strike him to the heart, and this should be the signal for a general attack on the whites. But when Major Sherman was twenty feet from him another Sisseton rode swiftly forward, dismounted, seized the stabber by the arm, and said: "Get on my horse and ride away from here." The accused savage obeyed, mounted the horse and rode away, the

other Indians following with loud shouts, laughter and hootings. In his report of the affair, Major Cullen wrote:

I subsequently learned from report that it had been deliberated and intended by the Indians to have attacked the camp, expecting all the officers and myself would come forward to receive the Indians, when they expected to have shot us, and then rush in and take the camp with the battery, horses and mules, but our going singly thwarted such a design. The fact that they had surrounded the camp on all sides and that the Yanktons had placed themselves among the horses and mules gives probability to the report.

Special Agent Pritchette, who made careful investigation of the matter reported as follows:

The Indians certainly, on the morning of the 16th premeditated a hostile attack. Their plan is said to have been adopted and systemized. Expecting that the Superintendent [Cullen] and the officers in command of the troop [Sherman, Patten and others] would come forward to receive the prisoner, they were to have been suddenly set upon and slain. At the same moment the horsemen were to have charged from either flank upon the cannons to prevent their discharge by pouring water [which they were carrying in skin sacks for the purpose] upon the priming in the vents. See Report of Pritchette, to Denver, Sen. Doc., 1st Sess. 35 Cong. Vol. 2, p. 393).

When Major Sherman returned from his visit to the Indian line, he immediately placed all his guns "in battery," ready for instant action. Every cannon was well loaded with canister, and if the order to fire had been given, the effect would have been most destructive. Then a great Indian war would have resulted, with all that such a calamity involved and implied. The Major was in charge of the situation; even Superintendent Cullen deferred to him. He sent a messenger after the retreating Indians, again demanding the warrior who had stabbed the soldier.

The previous day he had sent to Fort Ridgely for reenforcements, and a company of infantry, under Brevet-Major George W. Patten, was hurried up the same night in wagons. On the seventeenth he sent for more help, and another company, under Captain Alfred Sully, was sent to him with all dispatch. He again sent to the Indians for the stabber, assuring them that

the direst consequences would follow a refusal to deliver him, and in the afternoon of that day Captain Sully arrived, and the offender was brought into the soldiers camp. It had been intended to hang the stabber in the presence of all the other Indians, but a careful survey of the situation at once resulted in a much milder and more merciful disposition of his case, and he was simply placed under guard! A few days later the wounded man had recovered, and his assailant was permitted to run away; although it was pretended he had escaped. He ran away in the day time, a sentinel fired after him, but no effort was made to re-apprehend him, and the authorities were heartily glad to be rid of him.

Chapter XIV.

LITTLE CROW COMES TO THE RESCUE.

ALL the whites about the two Indian agencies were in a state of great apprehension of a hostile attack upon them by the irritated and incensed Indians swarming all about them. But at the time of greatest peril assistance came from an unexpected quarter, from Little Crow, so frequently mentioned in these pages, the chief of the Kaposia band of Medawakantons. When well nigh all his people had forsaken, and even threatened the white man, Little Crow stood his protector and friend. Superintendent Cullen reported:

> The trying times brought out the feelings of some of these Indians. Little Crow, having heard at the Lower Agency of the rumored attack, came into camp about the time when we were so near having trouble, and told me that he had learned that our lives were in danger, offered his services, and assisted the soldiers in driving out of the camp the Yanktons and others, who had crowded among our mules and horses, and were already leading them away, and thereby saved them. (Sen. Doc. 1st Sess. 35 Cong. Vol. 2, p. 369).

Little Crow rendered his white brethren other service. The Indians, especially the upper bands, were in sad plight. The grasshoppers were eating up their corn fields and truck patches, they had been waiting for their annuities for a month or more, were destitute of provisions and many of them were sick. Yet the United States authorities demanded that, destitute and unfit as they were, and inappropriate and unjust as was the idea, they should arm and equip themselves and go hundreds of miles in pursuit of their outlawed brethren, for whose outrages they

were not in the least responsible, and unless they exterminated them, what was rightfully their own, and which they needed so badly, would be withheld from them. "Give us our annuities first, so that we can eat, and we will go after Inkpadoota," said many of the Indians. "The treaty I signed at Traverse des Sioux said our money would be paid us regularly, and nothing was said about our having to go out, and bring in those who had killed white people. Ne-manka-Ha-yu-sha" (skin your own skunk). Thus spoke Chief Red Iron. Superintendent Cullen and Agent Flandrau, could only reply that they were acting under orders from Commissioner Denver, and must obey him. But Cullen's heart was not in the work; he sent an agent, a Mr. Bowes, down to Dunleith, Illinois, then the nearest telegraph station to Minnesota, so that speedy communication could be had with Washington, and he telegraphed Denver, repeatedly urging a repeal, or at least a modification of the obnoxious order, which Cullen and Flandrau were as loth to enforce, as the Indians were unwilling to execute. But Denver was obdurate, and Secretary Floyd was haughtily indifferent. At last Cullen and Flandrau appealed to Little Crow to help them. They assured him that their superiors were determined that before the annuities were paid the peaceable Indians must pursue and destroy, or capture, Inkpadoota and all his band. If the Indians persisted in their refusal to do what was required, there was the greatest danger of a bloody war between them and the whites, and nobody knew this better than Little Crow. He was asked to set an example by furnishing fifty men from his own band for the expedition against the outlaws, and to command the expedition himself. "Your band shall first be furnished with abundant supplies," said Major Cullen. The chief at once consented, and visited the other chiefs and bands to induce them to join him.

On the eighteenth another council was held relative to the expedition against Inkpadoota. Cullen, Flandrau, Special Agent Pritchette and Major Sherman represented the whites. A number of new bright colored blankets and a fat beef were presented to each band for a feast. The Indians decided to undertake the

T. W. WOOD -
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Ta - oyate - duta -
Little Crow -

expedition, with Little Crow in command, and no white troops to go. In his report Superintendent Cullen says of this incident:

> The Lower Sioux (Medawakantons and Wahpakootas) acting under the advice of Little Crow, came forward and said, they were willing to go after Inkpadoota and his band. After a few hours the Sissetons finally determined to join the Lower Sioux, and send a party also. I required that each band should furnish a quota to make up the party, that the immediate relatives of Inkpadoota should furnish two more men than the other bands, and that the entire party should be sent under charge and command of Little Crow. The Indians not having received any of their annuities were without means to enable them to furnish and supply an expedition. I had concluded after consultation with Major Sherman, that if they should in good faith comply with my demands I would furnish them with provisions, etc.

The next day, Sunday, July 19, the Lower Indians set out to join the Upper Indians at Yellow Medicine, and from that Agency on the Wednesday following, the entire party marched. Little Crow was in command. Major Cullen sent his interpreter, Antoine Joseph Campbell, and three other half-breeds, John and Baptiste Campbell and John Mooers. The entire party numbered over one hundred men,—Major Cullen says one hundred and thirty-one; Joe Campbell reported one hundred and six. Major Sherman furnished a wagon laden with provisions, drawn by six mules. When the expedition started Major Cullen was greatly relieved. He wrote: "After much exertion I had at last succeeded in accomplishing that which but a few days before had seemed most improbable."

Of the part Little Crow performed the Superintendent reported most highly, as follows:

> In aiding me in accomplishing this result, and for services rendered, which have saved the government from a long and tedious war, I cannot speak too highly of the services of the Chief, Little Crow, who after perceiving the inevitable results, and that I was earnest and firm in my determination, gave me his assistance. With him I labored night and day in organizing the party, riding continually between the Upper and Lower Agencies, for we scarcely slept until I had the party started after the murderers.

The expedition set out for Skunk Lake—now called Madison Lake—about forty miles west of the Red Pipestone Quarry, in what is now Lake County, South Dakota. Joe Campbell kept a daily journal of the expedition, and from his itinerary, published with the Superintendent's report, it is learned that two days after leaving Yellow Medicine, the party reached Joe Brown's trading post on the head of the Redwood; here, Glittering Cloud, was elected conductor or guide of the expedition. The next day they encamped at the village of Lean Bear, head soldier of the Sleepy Eye band. Then via the "Hole in the Mountain"[1] and Crooked River, the expedition reached Skunk Lake on the afternoon of July 28, and found the outlaws. Meanwhile the outlawed band had quarreled and separated. Inkpadoota and three other warriors, with a number of women and children, had gone far to the westward. The other eight fighting men, with nine women and thirteen children, had come eastward, and encamped at Skunk Lake, where there were ducks and fish in abundance. They occupied six lodges, which were distributed along the lake shore for three miles. The advance of Little Crow and his party had been discovered, and all the lodges had been deserted, and their inmates had fled to another lake twelve, or fifteen miles to the westward, then called by the Indians Big Driftwood Lake, and now called Lake Herman. Little Crow had a mounted advance guard of seventeen men led by himself, and composed of the three Campbell brothers, John Mooers, Little Crow, Good Road, Iron Elk, Black Dog, Left-hand Bear, Sacred Cow, Lone Village, Good Voiced Hail, Red Owl, Standing Soldier, Cloud, Black Dog and Star.

Uncertain whether their visitors were friends or enemies, the outlaws remained in sight. Good Voiced Hail (commonly called by the whites Enos Good Hail) was in the fore front of the advance. He afterwards testified as to the incidents of the affair with the outlaws. In part he said:

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[1]The Sioux name for the peculiarly curved gap, or cut in the Coteaus, at the southwest extremity of Lake Benton, Lincoln County. At a distance the gap resembles a tunnel through the hill.

I first saw the women and children in one party, and the men in another standing among the reeds in the lake. Little Crow stopped them and I began to fear they would escape. I urged Crow to go forward, and speak to them, but he refused saying they would shoot him, and that I had better go myself. I then went forward and called to the women to come on land. Two of them and one child came and shook hands; this was observed by Inkpadoota's men in the lake who called out: "They are friends, for they are shaking hands." In a few moments the two women with us started away, and were pulled back. Then the Indians in the lake cried out: "No, they are enemies;" and then began to run away. Fearing they would escape, I fired one barrel of my gun at a man, and the ball struck him near the shoulder, and he dropped his gun and fell down in the water and did not move. Then I fired the other barrel at the oldest man I saw; he was hit, and called out: "They have killed me," and then dropped into the lake. I continued loading and firing for half an hour. * * * I believe several children perished in the lake; I saw one woman bearing up two children in the water and making another child swim before her.

The scouts fired into and across the lake until the fugitives were far out of range. In all, three women, three men and three children of the Inkpadootas were killed. The Indians reported to Special Agent Pritchette that three women and three children were killed, but they gave no details. It was never known or cared whether or not the women and children were killed deliberately. The men killed were: Old Sacred Plume, Shifting Wind and Fire Cloud, the last named one of the twin sons of Inkpadoota, and brother to Roaring Cloud, who was killed at Yellow Medicine. It was admitted that Good Hail killed Sacred Plume, and Shifting Wind, and that the scouts that fired first besides him were Standing Soldier, Star, and Black Dog. Cloud, of E-yan Manne's band received the women prisoners.

The next morning, Cloud, of Sleepy Eye's band, went alone around the lake to search for the dead. The Campbells and John Mooers had threatened to scalp them, and Cloud and other full bloods, did not want this done, because, while the Inkpadootas deserved death, they were of the Dakota blood, and a Dakota ought never to scalp a Dakota. So Cloud determined that the dead men should not receive this degradation. He waded into the lake, and lifted up the three dank and now

loathsome corpses one by one, that some of his companions might see them, and asked for assistance, in removing them to the shore and burning them; but his companions refused. Then he came ashore and followed the bloody trail of a badly wounded man for some distance, when noting that the rest of the party had left he "got lonesome and unhappy," as he said, and followed after. John Other Day, and other Indians saw Cloud lift up the dead bodies, and Other Day was very sorry that he had not arrived in time to participate in the firing. In those days, in the Indian country wherever there was anything doing on the firing line, John Other Day invariably had an active hand in it.

Enos Good Hail was a Christian Indian, one of Reverend Riggs converts, and belonged to Paul-nah-zah-koota-manne's portion of E-yan-Manne's band of Sissetons, and was a prominent member of the Hazelwood "Republic" and mission. During the Sioux wars of 1863-1864 he was one of General Sibley's most efficient scouts.

Upon the return of Little Crow and his force, with the two women prisoners, one of them, the widow of Shifting Wind, who had been killed, they were notified that perhaps they had not done enough to secure the payment of their annuities; the authorities at Washington must decide. Commissioner Denver at first ordered that the payment and issue of supplies should be withheld until Little Crow should again go out and scour all the western country, until he had destroyed the remainder of Inkpadoota's band. The representations and protestations of Superintendent Cullen and of the Department's special agent, Major Kintzing Pritchette, could not change the unreasonable and stubborn Commissioner. Little Crow and party returned to the agencies, August 3. They and their women and children continued to "go hungry," as the Superintendent said, until about September, when, during Denver's absence from Washington, Acting Commissioner Charles T. Mix, directed Superintendent Cullen to make the payment and issue the supplies. Denver's unwise and unjust course was to have its effect five years later.

The subsequent history of Inkpadoota and his band cannot be given in detail. After the eight members of the band, who

had seceded, were so roughly served at Big Driftwood Lake, the survivors went back to their leader, professing penitence for the past and promising loyalty in the future. The band then went farther westward, and for five years was not heard of. In the summer of 1862 some of their members slipped back into Western Minnesota, and camped in the Upper Yellow Medicine, near some of their relatives. They announced that they had come to share in the coming annual payment! As is detailed on other pages, the rascals were warned away by their kinsmen, and followed out of the country by a force of the Fifth Minnesota under Lieutenant T. J. Sheehan.

None of the members of Inkpadoota's band took any part whatever in the great Sioux outbreak in Minnesota and Dakota. All of them at that time were hundreds of miles to the westward. But in the summer of 1863, at the Battle of Big Mound, the band was in camp three miles from the Mound, and the other Indians said there were six tepees in the camp. Only one member of the band took part in the fight, and some of the Indians claim that it was he who killed Surgeon Weiser, although the weight of evidence is that the surgeon was killed by a Medawakanton. The band took no part in the fight at the "Mountain Where We Killed the Deer," nor in any engagement with General Sibley's forces in 1863, or General Sully's in 1864.

Inkpadoota's last appearance in an historical scene was at the Custer massacre, in the Little Big Horn, in Eastern Montana, in June, 1876. On the morning of the day that General Custer made his ill-fated ride upon the Indian camp, Inkpadoota, then seventy-five years old, and stone blind, was sitting on the banks of the Little Big Horn, east of the encampment, with two of his grandsons, and the three were fishing in the stream. The little boys were the first to see Major Reno's command as it came riding up the valley to hold the Indians on the south, while Custer should come upon them from the north. They ran as fast as they could encumbered with their blind and decrepit grandsire, and gave the alarm in time for Gall and Grass to come down and drive back Reno, and then hasten back and exterminate Custer and his force. At this time, and for ten years be-

fore, Inkpadoota had been blind, and no longer regarded as a leader of anybody, for he could not walk without a guide. He and his two surviving sons fled with Sitting Bull to Canada, finally locating at the Canadian Red Pipestone Quarry, in Southwestern Manitoba. Here, in 1894, Dr. Charles Eastman, the well-known Indian authority, found the descendants of Inkpadoota, who gave him much interesting information. However, the bloody-minded old savage himself had died miserably some years before, and gone "to his own place."

Chapter XV.

GREAT SIOUX OUTBREAK OF 1862.

THE formidable and terrible outbreak of the Sioux Indians of Minnesota against the whites, in 1862, was the most remarkable and noteworthy incident of the kind in American history. More white people perished in that savage slaughter than in all the other massacres ever perpetrated on the North American continent. Add the number of white victims of the Indian wars of New England during the Colonial period to the list of those who perished in the Wyoming and Cherry Valleys, and to the pioneers who were killed in the early white occupation of the Middle West and the South, and the aggregate falls far short of the number of the people of Minnesota who were slain by the Sioux in less than one week in that memorable month of August, 1862. And yet a very great majority of the American people, including those who are considered well informed in the details of our National history, and even including a great majority of the people living in the State, are unfamiliar with the "great Minnesota outbreak," and know nothing of its inception, but little of its progress, and still less of its influence and results. Historians have generally ignored it, for the reason, perhaps, that it occurred at a period of the Civil War when public attention was almost solely directed to that stupendous conflict, and but few records were made of any other events occurring at the time. The American public of 1862 were looking only southward for momentous incidents. The cries of the victime of the Minnesota massacre were lost in the thunders of Second Manassas, South Mountain, Antietam, and Perryville; the

smoke of the burnings in the young State was obscured by the powder clouds of these and other Southern battlefields.

Although a number of tragic events, amounting to wars in their character and proportions, have occurred between the whites and Indians, the Sioux outbreak of 1862 resembles none of them, but stands as a thing apart in its general nature. Its immediate origin, the spark that set the blaze, was distinct and unique. The massacre led quickly to a war which lasted fairly over a period of two years. The war changed the map of the State, and the great holocaust of blood and rapine, and all the other events, followed the robbing of a hens' nest.

LOCATIONS OF THE SIOUX BANDS.

In the spring and summer of 1862 the several Sioux bands of Minnesota who had been parties to the Treaties of 1851 and 1858 had, with a few exceptions, all their villages and homes within the young State on their prescribed reservations bordering the Upper Minnesota River.

The band farthest westward and northward was the Sisseton. The sub-band of Sissetons farthest west and north was that of the Charger, or Wa-ah-na-tan, who was half Sisseton and half Yanktonnais, of the Cut-Head branch, and a son of old Wa-ah-na-tan, the noted Sisseton chief. The Charger's band was on the western shore of Lake Traverse, "near the hills, about the middle part of the lake," says Mr. Solomon Two-Stars, and in what is now North Dakota.

Adjoining the Charger's village was the village of Sweet Corn (Wamne-heza-skuya), which was also on the Dakota side. The sub-band of Standing Buffalo was located between the Big Stone Lake and Lake Traverse, practically on the present site of Brown's Valley. The band of Scarlet Plume (or Scarlet Eagle Plume, or Wam-bde-pe-doota) was on Big Stone Lake, at "the bend," or about seventy miles northwest of Yellow Medicine; Scarlet Plume himself commonly lived at Yellow Medicine. There were five other small bands of Sissetons on the Upper Reservation, but they were intermingled with the four principal

bands named. Uniform's band was twenty-five miles west of Big Stone Lake. The band of young Sleepy Eye was located about twenty miles west of Yellow Medicine. Sisseton bands living off the Reservation were Lean Bear's band, whose village was at a place near Lake Benton, called by the Indians "Where we pick up acorns;" this was formerly a part of old Sleepy Eye's band; the remainder of the old band had for chief a nephew of the noted old chieftain—who died in 1859—and he had assumed his distinguished uncle's name. Two other Sisseton bands living off the reservation were Limping Devil's (or Thunder Face's) that had its village at the Two Woods, near Lake Shetek, on a small lake, and at a locality called by the Sioux "Where we staked down the Cheyenne Indian."

Of the Wahpaton band, the sub-chiefs were all near the Minnesota, and generally about the Yellow Medicine. The band farthest north was that of the End (Inkpa) on Big Stone Lake. Next east or southeast of him was the band of Extended Tail Feathers (Oope-ya-hday-ya) formerly called the Orphan, and head chief of the Wahpatons. Next to it on the east was Walking Spirit's band. Then, near the present site of the Camp Release monument, on the south side of the Minnesota, in Yellow Medicine County, was the little band of thirty persons under Mah-zo-manne, (or Walks on Iron, often called Iron Walker) although, the chief, a good friend of the whites, and a good man generally, lived at Yellow Medicine; he was mortally wounded by accident at Wood Lake. Five miles up the Yellow Medicine from the Agency was Cloud Man's band.

About the Yellow Medicine, or Upper Agency, were other Wahpaton bands. The "Farmers' Bands," composed of Christians, who had adopted the habits of white civilization, was at the Hazelwood Mission, three miles or more above the Agency, and the leader was Simon Anah-wang-manne, (Goes Galloping on), who had succeeded Little Paul. Another "Farmers' band" near the Agency was under the Amazed Man, (E-ne-hah) who was himself a Sisseton, although nearly all of the members of his band were Wahpatons; a few of his relatives were located two miles above the Agency. The band of E-yan-manne (Running

Walker) had its village about a mile from the Agency. John Other Day and Akepa (Meeting) were the leaders of small bands that were scattered about the Agency.

According to the agent's census of 1861 the combined Sisseton and Wahpaton bands numbered 4,026, and of these 909 were listed as men, and the rest were women and children. The number of warriors was about 900. Many men were too old to fight, but many boys of sixteen were able to go on the war path. The largest band was Red Iron's, Wahpatons, numbering 369 men, women and children, and of these seventy-four were men. Red Iron's band was located about eighteen miles up the Minnesota from the Upper Agency. Near it was the little band of Rattling Moccasin. The largest band of Sissetons in 1861 was Standing Buffalo's, numbering 276 men, women and children, of whom fifty-eight were men.

The Yankton Sioux had their principal villages on the Missouri River, in the region where is now located the city of Yankton, South Dakota. When Yanktons and Sissetons intermarried their descendants were called by the whites Yanktonnais, the French originating the term. There were other mixed blood Yankton-Sisseton-Teton people who were called Cut Heads (Pahbaksah), and the Cut Heads, and Yanktonnais, whose combined membership did not exceed 200, had no permanent villages, or stations, but roamed over the prairie country in search of the buffalo upon which they chiefly subsisted. They never came east of Lac qui Parle, and probably never went farther southward or westward than the Missouri, but they often followed the buffalo as far north as the Devil's Lake, and the Turtle Mountain country. Old Chief Charger was part Yanktonnais, and he was recognized by those people, and also by the Cut Heads as their head chief. His son, the Charger of 1862, allowed some of his father's relatives among these outside people to be enrolled as Sissetons and draw annuities, and always at the time of payment the Cut Heads and Yanktonnais swarmed about the Upper Agency to pick up what they could among their tribesmen and other beneficiaries of the pay table, even though they were commonly able to obtain but a few crumbs. Neither the Yanktons,

Yanktonnais, or Cut Heads had taken any part in the Treaties of 1851, and were not entitled to any share in the payments thereunder .

Of the two lower bands, the Medawakantons and Wahpaakootas—whose reservation began on the eastern bank of the Yellow Medicine, on the west, and extended down the Minnesota to Rock Creek, four miles below Fort Ridgely—the sub-band farthest to the westward was the Medawakanton band whose leader was the Jug (Mah-kah-zhah-zhah). It was a very small band whose tepees were a few miles below the Yellow Medicine.

The sub-band of Shakopee (Six, commonly called Little Six) was a mile and more west of the mouth of the Redwood River. All about the Lower or Redwood Agency, were the other Medawakanton sub-bands. The old Kaposia village of Little Crow was on the south side of the Minnesota, a little west of the small stream called Crow's Creek, nearly opposite the present village of Morton. Near Crow's village was the band of the Great War Eagle, commonly called Big Eagle (Wam-bde-Tonka) and this had been the band of Gray Iron, of Fort Snelling. Below the Agency was the sub-band of Wah-pahah-sha (meaning literally Red War Banner) who was commonly called Wabasha, and who was the head chief of the Medawakanton band. Near him was the village of Wacouta (pronounced Wah-koota, and meaning the Shooter) who was now chief of the old Red Wing band. In this vicinity was the band of Traveling Hail, sometimes called Passing Hail (Wa-su-he-yi-ye-dan). Old Cloud Man was alive, but old and feeble, and had turned over the chieftainship to Traveling Hail, formerly of Cloud Man's band of Lake Calhoun; and farther down the Minnesota, but along the crest of the high bluff bank, was the band of Mankato who had succeeded his father, the historic old Good Road, in the chieftainship of one of the prominent old Fort Snelling bands. The Wahpakootas were reduced to one band, whose chief was Red Legs (Hu-sha-sha) although Pa-Pay was recognized as one in authority. The Wahpakoota village was below Mankato's on the same side of the river. There were a dozen or more of the old band still living about Faribault, that had refused to leave their old homes, and go upon the reservation.

There was another band which deserves particular mention. This was composed of a number of Indians, chiefly of Shakopee's band, who had become dissatisfied with conditions on their reservation, and had crossed to the north side of the little stream called Rice Creek, above the mouth of the Redwood, and nearly opposite Shakopee's village, had established a village of their own. The members were all discontented spirits, of the nature of Adullamites, who had left their bands because of quarrels, strifes, or feuds, or because they rebelled at certain restrictions which had been placed upon them. In defiance of law and order they had established their reservation on white man's land, outside of their own reservation, and they announced that they were willing to defend their intrusion and trespass at all hazards. It will be remembered that the Sioux lost all their land on the left bank of the Minnesota by the Treaty of 1858. By the accession of recruits from the old bands, even from the Sissetons and Wahpaton's, the Rice Creek band had, in the early summer of 1862, about fifty members, with fifteen tepees. They had also chosen a chief, a somewhat noted warrior called Red Middle Voice, (Ho-chokpe-doota) who had belonged to Shakopee's band.

INDIAN CONDITIONS FROM 1858 TO 1862.

When the Treaty of 1858 was made and ratified there were but few of the Sioux living on that portion of the Sioux reservation north of the Minnesota; nearly all of them were located upon the south side, chiefly in the timber tracts upon the crests of the high bluff banks bordering the large-wide, trough-shaped valley of the little river.

Charles E. Flaudrau, the agent of the Sioux, held the position but a few months; in September, 1857, Joseph R. Brown was appointed in his stead. As might have been expected, no sooner had this great character become installed in his place than he began important reforms. It was he who inaugurated the plan of purchasing the "north ten-mile-strip" of the Sioux reservation—that portion on the left bank of the Minnesota and

he carried that plan to completion, by escorting the Indian authorities to Washington and dictating the general terms of the treaty of cession. Major Brown, too, introduced a radical reform in Indian conditions. His predecessors had attempted something in the way of teaching the Indians the arts and methods of civilization, and the missionaries had helped along the work of redemption from barbarism and from sin. But when Brown took charge of the Indians they were nearly all blanketed and wild and living as in the old days. The influence of the new agent among them was vastly more powerful than that of all his predecessors in the aggregate. He had been in Minnesota and among the Sioux for nearly forty years; he had married a woman of their tribe, and his children were on the Indian roll, notwithstanding their father was rearing them in a refined civilization, and to became accomplished ladies and gentlemen. He had traded among them for many years; they all knew him and respected him.

Not long after Major Brown took charge of the Indians, scores of them were wearing the garb of white men, with their hair cut short, their barbaric adornments cast aside, and with hoes or spades or axes in their hands. They were living in houses, cooking their food on stoves, and sleeping on four-post bedsteads, and numbers of them professed to be Christians. The Indian farming operations, the work of building houses, and the other improvements were superintended by white men in the employ of the Government, but in some instances a full blood Indian was instructor in farming for the other members of a band; such a character was called a farmer. Oxen for teams, wagons, plows, and other implements were issued by the Government, and distributed among the bands. The annual payments and issues of other supplies were made regularly, and a skilled physician was in attendance at each Agency to minister to the Indians in case of sickness, the medicines being furnished by the Government. The majority of the Indians, however, continued the repose and trust of their faith in the "medicine men" of the olden times, with their rattles, their decoctions, and their charms and amulets, and held their "waukon" things in far greater esteem

and reverence than the white doctor's Latin prescriptions and drugs and chemicals.

In the spring of 1861, the Republican party came into national power. Major Cullen, the Democratic Indian Superintendent, was removed, and Clark W. Thompson, of Fillmore County, was appointed in his stead. Joseph R. Brown, agent for the Sioux, was removed, and his place taken by Thomas J. Galbraith, of Shakopee.

The new agent endorsed the policy and adopted the methods of his predecessor almost entirely. Especially did he endeavor to make the Indians self-supporting. Those who were already "farmers" or "breeches Indians" were favored and encouraged in many ways, and those who were still barbaric and blanketed were remonstrated with, and entreated to enter upon the new life.

The autumn of 1861 closed upon the affairs of the farmer Indians quite unsatisfactorily; their crops were light—the Upper Sioux raising little or nothing. The cut worms had destroyed well nigh all the corn fields of the Sissetons, and the same pests, together with the blackbirds, had greatly damaged the crops of the Wahpatons, Medawakantons, and Wahpakootas. Agent Galbraith was forced to buy on credit large quantities of pork and flour for the destitute Indians. Under the direction of Missionary Riggs, who lived among them, Agent Galbraith fed 1,500 Sissetons and Wahpatons from the middle of December, 1861, to April 1, 1862, when they were able to go off on their spring hunts. He also fed and cared for a number of the old and infirm and other worthy characters among the Lower Indians; but for the assistance of the Government, numbers of these wretched savages would have starved during that hard winter of 1861-1862. The "farmer" Indians were kept at work during the winter, making fence rails, cutting and hauling saw logs to the saw mills at the Upper and Lower Agency, and other work, and in payment received regular issues of supplies for themselves and families.

In August, 1861, the agent hired the farmer of the Lower Agency to plow 500 acres of fallow land, in what was called the public land, or the land cultivated by the Indians in common.

The price of plowing was at from $1.50 to $2.00 per acre. At the same season 475 acres of similar land were plowed for the Upper Sioux; later the Lower farmers plowed 250 acres and the Upper farmers 325 acres for their individual use The plowing was done at this time to kill the eggs of the cut-worms. In November, 1861, the fine stone warehouse, the walls of which are still standing, was completed at the Lower Agency. At this time there was a good steam sawmill, with a corn grinding mill attached, operated by Government employes, at each of the agencies. In the winter of 1861-1862 the Indians delivered at the Redwood sawmill 650,000 feet of saw logs and 128 cords of shingle blocks, and the Upper mill received from the same class 178,000 feet of logs. The tree tops and other fallen wood from the log timber was cut into cord wood by the Indians, who were paid $2.55 a cord at the Lower and $1.25 at the Upper Agency; this wood was used for burning brick. The sawmill supplied the carpenter shops with lumber for repairing sleds and wagons, and other implements, and even for building lumber. The farmer Indians, superintended by the Government carpenters, built stables, pens, etc., for the protection of their horses and cattle and the care of their farming tools. In the early winter of 1862 Agent Galbraith had the plans prepared for fifty new dwelling houses for Indian families, the buildings to cost an average of $300 each, and the farmer Indians were promised thirty more houses. In March he purchased and had shipped to the reservation 472 plows of various sizes, shovels, scythes, grain cradles and other implements; four farm wagons and forty-five ox carts; for sowing and planting twenty bushels of beans and peas, 285 bushels of corn, thirty bushels of wheat, 3,690 bushels of potatoes and proportionate quantities of turnip, pumpkin and other vegetable seeds. The wheat, corn, and potatoes were purchased from the farmer Indians, and paid for in goods and extra provisions from the Government warehouse. Other supplies furnished the Indians were seventy-nine matched pairs of work oxen, fifteen unmatched work steers, forty-seven cows and calves, eighty-eight sheep, and four "American" horses. In the spring, as soon as the Minnesota was open to navigation, Major Galbraith purchased

in St. Paul a large quantity of builders' hardware, several hundred suits of ready made clothing, a set of blacksmith's tools and two sets of carpenter's tools, a great quantity of woodenware and crockery, household and kitchen furniture, etc., and had these things shipped to the Lower Agency on the little steamboats which plied the river. During the winter of 1861-1862 the farmer Indians at the Lower Agency made 18,000 good rails and posts, and those at Yellow Medicine made 12,000. Over 200,000 brick had been burned in the fall of 1861, and 200,000 more were burned by Contractor Ryder in the spring and summer of 1862.

In the spring of 1862 there were planted for and by the Medawakantons and Wahpakootas, on the Lower Reservation, 1,025 acres of corn, 260 acres of potatoes, 60 acres of turnips and rutabagas, twelve acres of experimental spring wheat, and large areas of beans, peas, and other field and garden vegetables. The Yellow Medicine reservation had 1,110 acres of corn, 300 acres of potatoes, 90 acres of turnips and rutabagas, 12 acres of wheat, and field and garden vegetables in proportion. These crops were all well cultivated, plowed, hoed, and weeded, and when the outbreak came were in much better condition than the fields of many of their white neighbors, only a few miles away.

The amount of transportation over the road from the Lower to the Upper Agency was very large, and traversing this road were numerous sloughs, coulies, brooks, and creeks difficult of passage. Agent Galbraith was forced to pay forty cents per hundred for the transportation of freight between the agencies, a distance of only forty-five miles. In the spring and summer of 1862 he built no less than eighteen substantial and permanent bridges over the watercourses on the Agency road. Seventeen of these structures averaged twenty-five feet in length, (two were fifty feet each) and the truss bridge over Wood Lake Creek was sixty-seven feet in length; before the Battle of Wood Lake the Indians fired this bridge and greatly injured it. The bridges were not all completed until August 1, and were not much used prior to the outbreak, but they were of great service to General Sibley's army when it invaded the Indian country.

In June, 1862, Agent Galbraith promised to build for Little Crow a good brick house, with all the then modern improvements, if he would aid in bringing around his young men to habits of industry and civilization, and would himself become a farmer Indian. The chief made the required promise of reformation, agreed to dig the cellar and foundation and haul the lumber to the site of his new domicile, near his then residence, a story and a half frame house, in a conspicuous part of his village. The site has been marked by a granite tablet put up by the late Charles D. Gilfillan. The chief had the cellar partially finished, and much of the lumber hauled, and the contractors had delivered a part of the brick at the time of the outbreak.

By the second week of August (1862) the Indian crops were in fine condition, and everything looked propitious for a bountiful harvest. The worst trouble was with the crows and blackbirds; vast swarms and flocks of these birds attacked the corn fields. The grains were in the milk or soft stage, and the strong-billed pests could easily tear open the husk and ruin an ear of corn in a few minutes. The Indian women and children went to the corn fields at dawn and remained until nightfall, busily engaged all day in keeping off the little black-feathered creatures which were capable of doing so much damage. All the Indian corn fields at both Agencies were strongly fenced to keep out the stock, which was allowed to graze at large.

On the fifteenth of August the agent made a careful and conservative estimate of the crops his Indians would harvest that fall. He had inspected the situation himself, and he took the opinions of his superintendents, and others. The lowest estimates were that the Lower Sioux would gather and store 25,625 bushels of corn, 32,500 bushels of potatoes, 13,500 bushels of turnips, 240 bushels of wheat, a large quantity of beans, pumpkins, etc. The Yellow Medicine people were expected to harvest 27,750 bushels of corn, 37,500 bushels of potatoes, 20,250 bushels of turnips, etc. It was believed that all of this great supply would be available for human food, as the Indians had cut and stacked enough prairie hay to winter their stock, and many of them were still at work cutting grass when the devil turned himself loose among them on that bloody eighteenth of August.

TROUBLE ABOUT THE PAYMENT.

Prior to 1857 the payment to the Indians under the treaties were made semi-annually. In that year Superintendent Cullen changed this practice to one payment a year, which, until 1862, had commonly been made about the tenth of June. As has been stated this event was the great red letter day in the Indian calendar. It engaged attention for months before it came; it was a pleasant memory for months afterwards. Every beneficiary attended the payment, and many of the Cut Heads and Yanktonnais, that were not entitled to receive anything, came hundreds of miles and swarmed on the outskirts of the camp hoping to get something, however little, from the great stock to be distributed. So there was always a big crowd present at the payment, and a rare good time.

The amount of money in cash, always paid in gold and silver, was about thirty dollars per head; the cash value of goods and supplies issued was about twice that amount. As a rule ten days after the payment the money had all been spent, the provisions eaten up, and the other supplies disposed of.

The traders always received a liberal share of the money. For a year the Indians had been buying goods from them on credit, promising to pay in furs at the end of the hunting season. When default was made in the payment, which was invariably the case, the balance was promised in cash "at the payment." The traders were therefore always present near the pay tables, with their books of account, and when the Indian had received his money from the Government paymaster he was led over to his trader and asked to pay what he owed. The majority of the Indians were willing to pay their debts, but there were others who would not pay the most honorable debt if they could avoid it; usually the later class owed their traders more than the thirty dollars they had received. Sometimes for some years a detachment of soldiers had been sent up from Fort Ridgely to preserve order.

RESERVATION EVENTS IN 1861.

In 1861 the Lower Sioux had been paid June 27, and the Upper Sioux July 18. On the seventeenth of June the "St. Peter Guards," a newly recruited company, which became Company E of the Second Minnesota, Captain A. K. Skaro and the "Western Zouaves" of St. Paul, which became Company D, of the Second Regiment, Captain Horace H. Western, arrived by the steamer City Belle at Fort Ridgely as its garrison, taking the place of Company B, Captain Bromley, and Company G, Captain McKune, of the First Regiment, which companies had been stationed at the post since May. Captain McKune's company, however, remained at Ridgely until July 6.

About the first of July, the Indians began certain demonstrations indicating that they would make serious trouble if troops were stationed at the agencies and near the pay tables during the coming payments. They seemed to believe that the presence of soldiers on these occasions was to coerce them into paying their debts to the traders, and they were opposed to the idea. They soon organized a "soldiers' lodge" (or a-ke-che-ta tepee) to consider the matter. A soldiers' lodge was composed of warriors that were not chiefs or head soldiers, and who met by themselves and conducted all their deliberations and proceeding in strictest secrecy. Their conclusions had to be carried out by the chiefs and head soldiers. If a war was contemplated the soldiers' lodge decided the matter, and from its decision there was no appeal. Many other matters concerning the band at large were settled by the a-ke-che-ta tepee.

It developed that the soldiers' lodges on the Sioux reservation had determined on armed resistance to the presence of troops at the pay tables. Agent Galbraith and other white people about the agencies became greatly alarmed, and June 25, the agent called on Fort Ridgely for troops to come at once to Redwood. The St. Peter Guards were promptly sent and remained at the Lower Agency until after the payment, which passed off quietly. July 3, Major Galbraith again became

alarmed at the Indian signs, and called for a strong force to come to Yellow Medicine. McKune's company of the First Regiment and Skaro's of the Second Regiment were at once started from Fort Ridgely, but ten miles out were turned back. The next day Captain Western's company started for the Upper Agency, and on the sixth was overtaken by Captain Skaro's and the two companies reached the Yellow Medicine on the seventh, to the great relief of the agent and the other Government employes and traders and their families, who were in great fear of the rebellious and menacing Indians, chiefly young men and reckless characters. The payment at the Upper Agency was without disorder; the Indians paid their debts, but some of them were heard to say that "this is the last time" they would do so.

July 23, the two companies of the Second Regiment marched back to Fort Ridgely. August 13, detachments of both companies, under Captain Western and Lieutenant Cox, were sent by Lieutenant Colonel George, commanding the post at Fort Ridgely, to the Spirit Lake district, in Iowa, to protect the settlers in that region from the depredations of certain Indians, who, it was feared, contemplated another raid of the Inkpadoota character. The command was absent for two weeks.

About September 1, the Indians at and above Yellow Medicine began turbulent and frightened. On the eighth Company E, Captain Skaro, was dispatched from Fort Ridgely and reached the Yellow Medicine on the tenth. On the fifteenth Lieutenant J. C. Donahower, with twelve men of Company E, was sent to Big Stone Lake as an escort to the Government farmer, who was directed to secure from the Sissetons about the lake some horses which had been stolen by them and the Yanktonnais from white settlers on the Missouri, in Southeastern Dakota. The Lieutenant returned to Yellow Medicine with three of the recovered horses.[1] The Sissetons and

[1]Lieutenant Donahower had a somewhat perilous experience. The Indians threatened to recapture the horses, and if they had attempted to do so there would have been a fight, with the odds of the Indians against the whites at least twenty to one. The officer was enabled to withdraw his little force in safety largely through the counsel and help of Antoine Frenier, his brave and intelligent mixed-blood scout.

Yanktons stole about thirty horses that summer from Minnesota and Iowa settlers. September 23, Captain Skaro left Yellow Medicine for Fort Snelling, where he joined his regiment, which, in a few days, was sent to the South.

On the tenth of October, 1861, Companies A and B of the Fourth Regiment, became the garrison at Fort Ridgely. Captain L. L. Baxter, of Company A, was commander of the post until in March, 1862, when the companies with the remainder of the regiment, were sent to the Union Army in front of Corinth, Mississippi.

Upon the organization of the Fifth Minnesota Infantry, March 29, 1862, three of the companies of that regiment were assigned to garrison duty at the Minnesota forts. To Fort Abercrombie was sent Company D, Captain John Vander Horck; to Fort Ripley, Company C, Captain Hall; to Fort Ridgely, Company B, Captain John S. Marsh. As Captain Marsh had not yet joined the company, and as Lieutenant Norman K. Culver was on detail as Quarter-master, Sergeant Thomas P. Gere led the company on its march, in zero weather, through a deep snow, from Fort Snelling to Fort Ridgely, arriving at the latter post March 25. April 10, Gere became Second Lieutenant, and on the sixteenth Captain Marsh arrived and assumed command of the post. There were then at the fort, in addition to the officers and men of Company B, Post Surgeon Dr. Alfred Muller, Sutler Ben H. Randall, Interpreter Peter Quinn, and Ordnance Seargeant John Jones and a few soldiers' families living in cabins nearby. Sergeant Jones was in charge of the Government stores and of six pieces of artillery of different calibers, the relics of the old artillery school at the post, which had been left by Major Pemberton when he departed for Washington with the last battery organization, in February, 1861.

PAYMENT TROUBLES OF 1862.

The Minnesota Indian payments for 1862 were greatly delayed. They should have been made by the last of June, but the Government agents were not prepared to make them until

the middle of August. The authorities at Washington were to blame. For some weeks they dallied with the question whether or not a part at least of the payment should be made in greenbacks. Commissioner Dole, Superintendent Thompson, and Agent Galbraith protested that the payment should be in specie. Not until August 8 did Secretary Chase, of the Treasury, order Assistant Treasurer Cisco, of New York, to send the Indians' money in gold coin to Superintendent Thompson at St. Paul. The money—$71,000, in kegs, all in gold coin—left New York August 11, and arrived at St. Paul on the sixteenth. Superintendent Thompson started it the next day for the Indian country in charge of C. W. Wykoff, E. C. Hatch, Justus C. Ramsey, A. J. Van Vorhees, and C. M. Daily, and they, with the wagons containing the precious kegs, reached Fort Ridgely, August 18, the first day of the great outbreak. The money and its custodians remained within the fort until Sibley's army came, and then the money, in the original package as stated, was taken back to St. Paul by the parties named who had brought it up.

Meanwhile there was a most unhappy condition of affairs on the reservation. The Indians had been eagerly awaiting the payment since the tenth of June. On the twenty-fifth a large delegation of the chiefs and head men of the Sissetons and Wahpatons visited Yellow Medicine and demanded of Agent Galbraith to be informed whether they and their people were to get any money that year; they alleged they had been told by certain white men that they would not be paid because of the great war then in progress between the North and South. The agent said the payment would certainly be made by July 20. He then gave them some provisions, ammunition, and tobacco, and sent them back to their villages, promising to notify them when the money came of the exact time of the payment. He then went to the Lower Agency and counseled the people there as he had the people at Yellow Medicine, adding that they should busy themselves in cutting hay for the winter and in keeping the birds from the corn. As the Lower Indians had worked unusually well the preceding year, but through no fault of their own found their stock of provisions nearly exhausted, Major

Galbraith issued to them a liberal supply of mess pork, flour, salt, tobacco and ammunition to last until payment day.

The foregoing description of conditions and events on the Sioux reservation in the spring and summer of 1862 is given from undoubted authority (Major Galbraith's official report, Reverends Riggs', Hinman's, and Dr. Williamson's printed statements) as evidence that the condition of the Indians immediately preceding the outbreak was as good as that of the average white settlement on the frontier at that day. In many respects the Indians were more comfortable than their white neighbors, the pioneers who had settled outside the reservation. Whatever was to the Indians' discomfort could not be attributed to the bad conduct of their agent or those under him.

But the blanket Indians were not all happy and contented. They had troubles of their own. There was dissension among them over particular matters, such as adopting the white man's habits and customs, obeying instructions about not fighting the Chippewas, the election of chief speaker of the Medawakanton band. In the spring Little Crow, Big Eagle, and Traveling Hail were candidates for speaker of the band. There was a heated contest, resulting in the defeat of Little Crow to his great mortification and chargin and that of his followers, who constituted the greater part of the anti-white man's party. His successful opponent, Traveling Hail, was a civilization Indian and a firm friend of the whites.

In June, as the time for the payment approached, a number of the young Medawakantons and Wahpakootas formed a soldiers' lodge, to consider the question of allowing the traders to approach the pay table. Of course, under the rules, the chiefs and head men were not allowed to participate in the deliberations of this peculiar council, although they were expected to enforce its decisions and decrees. After a few days of secret consultation the council sent a delegation to Fort Ridgely, which, through Post Interpreter Quinn, asked Captain Marsh, the commandant, not to send any soldiers to the payment to help the traders collect their debts. Captain Marsh replied that he was obliged to have some of his soldiers present at the payment, but

they would not be used unless there was a serious disturbance of the peace, and on no account would he allow them to be employed to collect the debts owing to the traders by the Indians. This reply greatly gratified the Indians and they returned to their villages in high glee boasting of what they had accomplished.

The traders were indignant at the action of the Indian soldiers. They vowed not to sell the Indians any more supplies on credit. "You will be sorry for what you have done," said Andrew J. Myrick, who was in charge of his brother's trading house at Redwood, "you will be sorry. After a while you will come to me and beg for meat and flour to keep you and your wives and children from starving and I will not let you have a thing. You and your wives and children may starve, or eat grass, or your own filth." The traders tried to induce Captain Marsh to revoke his decision in their favor, but he would make them no promises.

In July the Lower warriors convened another soldiers' lodge. This time the subject of discussion was whether or not they should go on the war-path against the Chippewas, who had recently given a lot of toruble. Incidentally the trouble about their debts came up, and it was finally decided that if soldiers guarded the pay tables, and their bayonets were employed as instruments for the collection of debts, the Indians would be forced to submit. This was the soldiers' lodge about whose purpose and plans so many startling and alarming statements were afterwards made by the whites. At the time, too, the whites were afraid. On one occasion the Indians went down to Fort Ridgely and asked to be allowed to play ball (or la crosse) on the parade grounds. Captain Marsh refused to allow this, and it was afterwards printed that on the occasion mentioned the Indians had planned and schemed to get into the fort by stratagem, and then massacre the garrison and every white person in the neighborhood. There was not the least ground for this false and unjust suspicion, say some Indians of 1908.

The Upper Indians were in far worse moods than their brethren at Redwood. In addition to their dissatisfaction in

regard to the delay in the payment,—for they needed assistance most sorely—they were incensed against the white authorities who had forbidden them to make war on the Chippewas. The latter made frequent forays upon the Sioux of the upper country. In May a hunting party of Red Iron's band was attacked on the Upper Pomme de Terre by a band of Chippewas and chased from the country, losing two men killed. About the twentieth of July the Chippewas slipped down and killed two Sioux within eighteen miles of Yellow Medicine.

These instances stirred the blood of the Upper bands and four days later several hundred of them formed a war party and, stripped and painted, and yelling and shouting, marched by the Agency buildings and the camp of the soldiers and down the Minnesota in the direction of Major Brown's stone mansion and big farm, near where the Chippewas were supposed to be. The majority of the Indians were mounted, but those who were on foot went galloping along by the side of the cantering ponies and kept up with them easily[1] The Chippewas had retreated and could not be overtaken.

About the fifteenth of August, only a few days before the outbreak, a man and his son of Red Iron's band were killed by the Chippewas, while hunting, a few miles north of the river. Their bodies were taken back to their village and exposed in public for a whole day. Hundreds of Sioux came to see them. A war party of a dozen or more set out after the murderers, followed them up into the Otter Tail Lake country and did not return to the reservation until nearly two weeks after the outbreak. Etay-zha-zha, or Gleaming Face, of Cloud Man's band, was one of this war party. Before the Sisseton Investigation Committee, in August, 1901, he said:

A rush was made to Red Iron's village by the people of the surrounding country, and I among the rest went there and saw this man and his son dead. They had been killed. It made the people feel very bad, myself among the rest, and they had a desire to kill at least one

[1]Unpublished statement of Charles A. Rose, a soldier of Company C, Fifth Minnesota, who witnessed the incident; Minn. In. Civ. Ind. Wars Vol. 1, p. 246.

of the Chippewas and have him lay as these men were laying and I, among the rest, felt that way, and that is why I went out there to try and carry out that wish. I was the leader of the party. There were twenty-five of us, and three of us were Yanktonnais. On the return trip we slept three nights between the lake and Yellow Medicine.

Certain writers have frequently declared that the outbreak was a long meditated and carefully planned movement of the Sioux and Chippewas in combination; that Little Crow and Hole-in-the-Day were in constant communication and engaged in preparing for the uprising for weeks before it occurred. The incidents given of the tragic events, the homicides, and the fights between the two tribes up to the very date of the Sioux outbreak prove the absurd falsity of the claim that they were engaged as allies in plotting against the whites.

Chapter XVI.

CONDITION OF AFFAIRS AT THE YELLOW MEDICINE AGENCY.

IN the first part of July in this memorable year a brief period of excitement and danger began at the Yellow Medicine Agency. The Upper Indians became turbulent and menacing, and serious results were avoided only by the greatest care and the intelligent exercise of sound judgment.

As early as June 18, Captain Marsh, in command at Fort Ridgely, deemed it best, in anticipation of trouble among the Indians at the payment, to strengthen his forces. On the eighteenth Captain Hall ordered Lieutenant T. J. Sheehan, with fifty men of Company B of the Fifth Regiment, from Fort Ripley to reenforce the garrison at Fort Ridgely. The lieutenant and his men arrived on the twenty-eighth, and the next day Captain Marsh started them and fifty men of Company B, under Lieutenant T. P. Gere for the Yellow Medicine, which post they reached July 2. They carried with them a piece of artillery, a twelve pound mountain howitzer, and plenty of ammunition. Lieutenants Sheehan and Gere were directed to obey the orders of Agent Galbraith and to preserve peace and protect United States property, "during the time of the annuity payment for the present year." Sheehan ranked Gere, and was given command of the detachment.

When the soldiers reached the Yellow Medicine, they found the Upper Indians already arriving in large numbers in anticipation of the annuity payment, which was the prevailing and absorbing topic. On the eighth a detachment of warriors,

through Interpreter Quinn, had a lengthy interview with the young officers. The Indians said: "We are the braves who do the fighting for our people. We sold our land to the Great Father, but we don't get the pay for it. The traders are allowed to sit at the pay table, and they take all our money. We wish you to keep the traders away from the pay table, and as we are now hungry we want you to make us a present of a beef." The lieutenant answered that the payment regulations were in charge of Agent Galbraith, whose orders they must obey; that they had no beeves or other provisions, save their own army rations, which they needed for themselves, but that they would tell the agent what the warriors had said.

Every day brought accessions to the number of Indians about the Agency. On July 14, when Agent Galbraith arrived, he was astonished and alarmed to find that nearly all of the Upper Indians had arrived, that they were greatly destitute, and that they were clamoring for "Wo-kay-zhu-zhu! Wo-kay-zhu-zhu"—the payment! the payment! The agent asked them reproachfully: "Why have you come? I sent you away and told you not to come back until I sent for you again. I have not sent for you—why have you come?" The Indians replied: "It was such a long time that we did not hear from you, that we feared something was wrong. Then, because of the war in the South, some white men say that we will not get our money at all. We want to find out about all this. We are destitute and hungry. You may not have money, but you have provisions in that big house, and this is the time of the year that we should receive both our money and supplies; we want some of the supplies now. We will not leave our camps until we get our money and all."

Major Galbraith sent word of his predicament to Superintendent Thompson and asked for instructions. The superintendent answered that the agent was on the ground and must do as he thought best. The agent then issued, in scanty quantities, some rations of pork and flour and some cloth and other supplies to the most destitute and deserving. The Indians were grateful, and gave numerous dances and other entertainments as returns for the favors.

To add to Major Galbraith's perplexities, the presence of a large number of Yanktonnais and other non-annuity Indians was reported. On the day after his arrival he inspected the various camps and found, to his disgust and dismay, that there were 659 lodges of annuity Indians, 78 lodges of Yanktonnais, 37 of Cut Heads, and five of unidentified people, said to be Winnebagoes. There were more than 4,000 annuity Sioux and about 1,000 Yanktonians and Cut Heads. Even a portion of Inkpadoota's wolves were reported to be out on the prairies, sniffing the air and licking their chops in anticipation of securing a few scraps from the feast in prospect.

By July 18, the Indians had eaten nearly all of their dogs and everything else of an edible character in their camps, and there was actual starvation among them. Still there was no payment and no issue of supplies. Down in the Minnesota bottoms, almost hidden in the high and succulent grass, were hundreds of fat cattle belonging to the settlers and to be had for the killing, and less than a day's march away were provisions of other kinds enough to feed an army, and to be had for the taking. Lieutenant Sheehan feared that the strain would not endure much longer, and sent down to Ridgely and brought up another howitzer. Galbraith, however, did not believe there was any danger, as the Indians were apparently quiet and peaceable. On the twenty-first the lieutenants interviewed Galbraith and plainly told him that if he did not at once relieve the most pressing necessities of the Indians, he would be responsible for any casualty that might ensue. The agent agreed that he would at once take a census of the annuity people, issue an abundant supply of provisions, and then send them back to their villages to await the arrival of their money.

On the twenty-sixth the counting took place. The enumeration was confined to the annuity Indians; the Yanktonnais and Cut Heads were ignored. All of the people eligible to payment were assembled near the Government buildings, and a cordon of soldiers thrown about the entire concourse. Each subchief called upon the heads of families in his band to give the number of persons in their respective families and when the

number was announced those composing it were sent out of the lines to their camps. The enumeration occupied twelve and a half hours.

The Indian census had been taken, but still Agent Galbraith made no issue of provisions, as he had promised. The man seemed beside himself in the perplexities of his situation. He was a drinking man, and it is said that he was intoxicated a great portion of the time in an effort to meet the dangers which confronted him with a "Dutch courage."

The next day after the census was taken, or July 27, Major Galbraith sent Lieutenant Sheehan, with fourteen soldiers, four citizens and the ever faithful Good Voiced Hail, as a guide,[1] on a futile and foolish chase after the half dozen of Inkpadoota's band reported to be hovering about the Dakota boundary, south and west of Lake Benton. The men were all mounted and had two baggage wagons. Two of the citizens were named Greenway and Lamb, and a third was named Brown. Greenway and Lamb were pioneers of Sioux Falls, and the Inkpadoota Indians had, some days before, stolen a wagon and team from them. They believed their property had been taken by the annuity Indians, and came to Yellow Medicine to have it restored. A day or two later Brown, who lived at Sioux City, was a pioneer who spoke Sioux, and knew the Inkpadoota gang personally, came in and said that two nights previously he had passed the night in the outlaws' camp, a few miles west of Lake Benton or "the Hole in the Mountain," and saw the stolen wagon and team, the latter consisting of a horse and a mule.

Good Hail led the party on a route as straight as the crow flies to "Pick Up Acorns" Lake, a little north of Lake Benton, and in due time Brown identified the former site of Inkpadoota's camp, a few miles south and west of the lake. The Indians had fled, having probably been warned by some friend from Yellow Medicine. The trail was at once taken up and easily followed because of the tracks made by the stolen wagon. But only a

[1]It will be remembered that Good Voiced Hail was the Indian who killed two of the Inkpadoota band in 1857.

few miles to the westward the wagon tracks disappeared as suddenly and as completely as if the vehicle had been taken up into the air, and all other traces of the fugitives vanished into vacancy. This was at a little grove, where at first it was supposed the Indians were hidden, and into which the men charged, expecting a fight.[1]

The camp of the expedition was made at "Pick Up Acorns" Lake, and from here operations were conducted. Upon first reaching the place a herd of buffalo at a distance was mistaken for an Indian camp. Good Hail went out and killed two of the herd, but found no Indians. After scouring the country in a vain search for trails or even signs, the detachment set out on the return trip and reached Yellow Medicine August 3. The failure to overtake the outlaws had a bad effect upon the Agency Indians, who derided the work of the soldiers and were confirmed in their belief that in matters pertaining to warfare of any sort, Indians could easily outwit white men.

INDIANS ASSAULT THE AGENCY BUILDING.

The fourth of August came but no paymaster was in sight, and there had been no issue of provisions, save a few pieces of hard tack, for two weeks. Early in the morning of the fourth the Indians sent two messengers to Lieutenant Sheehan and informed him that later in the day, they were coming to the Agency to fire a salute and make a great demonstration for the entertainment of the white people, and especially the soldiers. "Don't be afraid," they said, "for although we will do a lot of shooting we won't hurt anybody."

About 9 o'clock the soldiers were startled to see that, suddenly and without having previously been seen, the Indians had surrounded the camp and were pointing guns at them. The sentinels or camp guards were pushed from their beats and told

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[1]For many of the particulars of this expedition the compiler is indebted to Chas. A. Rose, now State Custodian Public Documents who was formerly a member of Company C, Fifth Minnesota, and one of the soldiers in the adventures described.

to go to their tents and stay there, and Private James Foster, of Company B, had his gun wrested from him. At the same time several hundred mounted and armed warriors galloped up, yelling and shooting, and began riding wildly about. The real object of this startling and thrilling demonstration was not apparent until the Indian leader dashed up to the west end of the Government warehouse and struck its big door a resounding blow with his tomahawk. Very soon the door was broken down and the Indians rushed in and began carrying away the big fat sacks of flour and the fatter slices of pork.

According to Lieutenant Gere's account (see Volume I, Minnesota in Civil and Indian Wars, p. 247), the situation was now perilous in the extreme. The soldiers were outnumbered seven to one by the excited warriors, who were priming, cocking, and aiming their guns only a hundred feet away. Private Josiah Weakley, of Company C, precipitated a crisis. An Indian had pointed a gun at him, and the soldier swore a big mouth-filling oath and hastily capped and aimed his gun at the savage to resent the insult. He was about to pull the trigger, when Jim Ybright struck down the gun, and thus prevented the destruction of the entire command and of every other white person at or about the Agency. For at that critical moment, had a single hostile shot been fired, by either white man or Indian, the great savage outbreak of a fortnight later would have begun and its first victims would have been the people of Yellow Medicine.

Lieutenant Sheehan ordered his little command to "fall in," and promptly every man, gun in hand, sprang into line. There was no shrinking and apparently no fear. It was soon realized that the object of the Indian attack was to secure the provisions in the warehouse wherewith to feed themselves and their famishing women and children. Had the murder of the whites been intended, the bloody work would have been begun at once. It seemed certain that the Indians would not fire the first shot.

But the peace must be preserved, even if it had to be fought for, and the Government property must be protected at all hazards. Lieutenant Gere had direct charge of the two

cannon, and the men of his company had been trained by old Sergeant Jones, at Ridgely, to handle them. Taking the tarpaulin cover from one of the guns, which was loaded with canister, Lieutenant Gere aimed it at the warehouse door, through which the Indians were crowding, going for and returning with sacks of flour. From the cannon to the warehouse the distance was not more than 150 yards; the ground was level, and the range point blank.

Instantly there were yells of surprise and shouts of warning, and the Indians fell back on either side of the line of fire and the range of the gun, leaving a wide and distinct lane or avenue between the cannon and the warehouse door. Lieutenant Sheehan now appeared with a detachment of sixteen men, and that brave soldier, Sergeant Solon A. Trescott, of Company B, at their head. Down the lane with its living walls marched Sheehan and his little band straight to the warehouse. Reaching the building the lieutenant went at once to the office of Major Galbraith, too impotent through fear and excitement for any good. Sergeant Trescott and his men summarily drove every Indian from and away from the warehouse. Only about thirty sacks of flour had been taken.

Lieutenant Sheehan stoutly demanded that Galbraith at once give to the Indians the provisions which really belonged to them, and thereby avert not only starvation but probably war. But the agent, now that the soldiers were in line and their leader in his presence, became, through his "Dutch courage," very dignified and brave. He said that if he made any concessions to the Indians they would become bolder in the future; that the savages must be made to respect his position and authority as their agent, and not attempt to coerce him into doing his duty. He then demanded that Lieutenant Sheehan should take his soldiers and make the Indians return the flour they had seized and which their women were already making into bread.

Sheehan had his Irish spirit thoroughly aroused, and at last forced the agent to agree to issue three days' rations of flour and pork to the Indians, if they would return to their

camps and send their chiefs for a council the next day. Meanwhile the Indians had assembled by bands about the warehouse and were addressed by their chiefs and head soldiers, all of whom said, in effect: "The provisions in that big house have been sent to us by our Great Father at Washington, but our agent will not let us have them, although our wives and children are starving. These supplies are ours and we have a right to take them. The soldiers sympathize with us and have already divided their rations with us, and when it comes to the point they will not shoot at us, but if they do we can soon wipe them from the earth."

The three days' rations were issued, but the Indians declined to return to their camps, unless they should first receive all that was due them. They again became turbulent and threatened to again attack and loot the warehouse. Lieutenant Sheehan moved up his entire command directly in front of the warehouse and went into fighting line with his two cannons "in battery." Then the Indians concluded to forego any hostile movements and returned to their camps. Their three days' rations had been well nigh all devoured before midnight.

Agent Galbraith continued in his excited mood and eccentric conduct. His excitement was so intense that it became protracted. Months afterward, in writing his official report and describing the events of the fourth of August, he declared that when the Indians assaulted the warehouse they "shot down the American flag" waving over it. His statement was accepted by Heard, who in his history (p. 47) states that the flag was "cut down." Lieutenant Sheehan and the men who were under him at Yellow Medicine all assert that the flag was neither shot down or cut down or injured in any way, but that when the trouble was over for the day the banner was "still there." August 5 the agent was still beside himself. He declared that the loyal old Peter Quinn—who had lived in Minnesota among his white brethren for nearly forty years and was always faithful to his trust, even to his death in the slaughter at Redwood Ferry—was not to be trusted to communicate with the Indians. He ordered Lieutenant Sheehan, who had brought Quinn from Ridgely, to

send him back and he requested that the loyal old man be "put off the reservation."

Sheehan could bear with the agent no longer. He accommodated him by sending Quinn away, but he sent the old interpreter with Lieutenant Gere, whom he directed to hasten to Fort Ridgely, describe the situation to Captain Marsh, and urge that officer to come at once to Yellow Medicine and help manage Galbraith. The captain reached Yellow Medicine at 1:30 P. M. on the sixth, having come from Fort Ridgely, forty-five miles distant, by buggy in seven hours.

August 7, Galbraith having been forced to agree to a sensible course of action, he, Captain Marsh and Missionary Riggs held a council with the Indians. The agent had sent to Hazelwood for Mr. Riggs and when the good preacher came said to him appealingly: "If there is anything between the lids of the Bible that will meet this case, I wish you would use it."[1] The missionary assured the demoralized agent that the Bible has something in it to meet every case and any emergency. He then repaired to Standing Buffalo's tepee and arranged for a general council that afternoon. The missionary gives this description of the proceedings:

> The chiefs and braves gathered. The young men who had broken down the warehouse door were there. The Indians argued that they were starving and that the flour and pork in the warehouse had been purchased with their money. It was wrong to break in the door, but now they would authorize the agent to take of their money and repair the door. The agent then agreed to give them some provisions and insisted on their going home, which they promised to do.[2]

Captain Marsh demanded that all of the annuity goods, which for so long had been wrongfully withheld, should be issued immediately, and Reverend Riggs endorsed the demand. Galbraith consented, and the Indians promised that if the issues were made they would return to their homes and there remain until the agent advised them that their money had come. The agreement was faithfully carried out by both parties to it. The

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[1]Rev. Riggs's "Mary and I," p. 151.
[2]"Mary and I," ibid.

issue of goods began immediately and was continued through the eighth and ninth. By the tenth all the Indians had disappeared and on the twelfth word was received that Standing Buffalo's and the Charger's band, with many others, had gone out into Dakota on buffalo hunts. On the eleventh the soldiers left Yellow Medicine for Fort Ridgely, arriving at that post in the evening of the following day.

All prospects of future trouble with the Indians seemed now to have disappeared. Only the Upper Indians had made mischief; the Lower Indians had taken no part nor manifested any sympathy with what their brethren had done, but had remained quietly in their villages engaged in their ordinary avocations. Many had been at work in the hay meadows and cornfields. All the Indians had apparently decided to wait patiently for the annuity money. This agreeable condition of affairs might have been established six weeks earlier but for the unwise yet well meant work of Agent Galbraith, who should have done at first what he did at last.

Believing that no good reason any longer existed for the presence of so many troops at Fort Ridgely, Captain Marsh ordered Lieutenant Sheehan to lead Company C of the Fifth Minnesota back to Fort Ripley, on the Upper Mississippi, the march to be made on foot, across the country, by the most direct route. At 7 o'clock on the morning of August 17 the detachment set out, encamping the first night at Cumming's Grove, near the present site of Winthrop, Sibley County.

After the troubles at Yellow Medicine were over a number of discharged government employes, French-Canadians, and mixed blood Sioux expressed a desire to enlist in the Union army, under President Lincoln's call for "300,000 more." The Government was advancing forty dollars of their prospective bounty and pay to recruits, and as quite a number of the would-be volunteers were out of employment and money, the cash offer was perhaps to some as much of a stimulus to enlist as was their patriotism. A very gallant frontiersman named James Gorman busied himself with securing recruits for the pioneer company, which—because most of its members were from Renville County—was

called the "Renville Rangers." Captain Marsh had encouraged the organization, and Agent Galbraith had used all of his influence in its behalf. August 12 thirty men enlisted in the Rangers at Yellow Medicine and on the fourteenth twenty more joined the company at Redwood. Galbraith and Gorman, with their fifty men, left Redwood Agency for Fort Snelling, where it was expected the company would join one of the new regiments then being formed. At Fort Ridgely Captain Marsh furnished the Rangers quarters and rations and sent Sergeant James G. McGrew and four other soldiers with them on their way to the fort. At New Ulm they received a few men, and the entire company, in wagons, reached St. Peter in the afternoon of the eighteenth.

Chapter XVII.

GENESIS OF THE OUTBREAK.

THE first act in the great Sioux outbreak of 1862 was a cruel and bloody one. The first scene in the terrible tragedy was the cause of the greatest Indian war in American history. An act of war alone caused the war. That act, too, was as unexpected as it was unjustifiable. Lightning from a clear sky could not be more startling and surprising.

Sunday, August 17, 1862, was a beautiful day in Western Minnesota. The sun shone brightly, the weather was warm, and the skies were blue. The corn was in the green ear stage; the wild grass was ripe for the hay mowing; the wheat and oats were ready to be harvested.

A large majority of the settlers and pioneers in the Upper Minnesota Valley, on the north or east side of the river, were church members. The large German Evangelical settlement on Sacred Heart Creek held religious services on that day at the house of one of the members, and there were so many in attendance that the congregation occupied the door yard. A great flock of children had attended the Sunday school and received the ninth of a series of blue cards, as evidence of their regular attendance for the nine preceding Sundays. "When you come next Sunday," said the superintendent to the children, "you will be given another blue ticket, making ten tickets, and you can exchange them for a red ticket." But to neither children or superintendent that "next Sunday" never came.

At Yellow Medicine and Hazelwood there was an unusual attendance at the meetings conducted by Riggs and Williamson.

At the Lower Agency Rev. S. D. Hinman, the rector of the station, held services in Sioux in the newly erected but uncompleted Episcopal church, and among his most attentive auditors were Little Crow and Little Priest, the latter a Winnebago sub-chief, who, with a dozen of his band, had been hanging about the Agency, awaiting the Sioux payments. Little Crow was a pagan, believing in the gods of his ancestors, but he always showed great tolerance and respect for the religious opinions of others.

Altogether there was not the slightest indication or the faintest suspicion of impending trouble before it came. There are printed statements to the effect that a great conspiracy had been set on foot, or at least planned; but careful investigation proves these statements, no matter by whom made, to be baseless and unwarranted. Except the four perpetrators nobody was more startled or surprised upon learning of the murder of the first whites, than the Indians themselves.

The Rice Creek Indians, as has been stated, were deserters from the bands to which they rightfully belonged, because they were discontented with conditions and had grievances against their chiefs or others of their fellow-clansmen. They were, too, malcontents generally. They did not like their own people; they did not like the whites. Not one of them was a Christian, and they had nothing but contempt for their brethren that had become converts. Many of them, however, wore white men's clothing, and a few were good hunters and trappers, although none were farmers. They depended almost altogether for provisions upon their success in hunting and fishing. Detachments from the band were constantly in the Big Woods, engaged in hunting, although in warm weather the game killed became tainted and nearly putrid before it could be taken home; and from daylight until after dark the river bank in front of their village was lined with women and children busily fishing for bullheads.

On Sunday afternoon, August 17, the Rice Creekers held an open council, which was attended by some of Shakopee's band from across the river. It was agreed to make a demonstration to hurry up the payment, and that the next day every able-

bodied man should go down to the Lower Agency, from thence to Fort Ridgely, and from thence to St. Paul if necessary, and urge the authorities to hasten the pay day, already too long deferred. But nothing was said in the council about war. An hour or two later nothing was talked of but war.

About August 12 twenty Lower Indians went over into the Big Woods of Meeker and McLeod Counties to hunt. Half a dozen or more of the Rice Creek band were of the party. One of Shakopee's band, named Island Cloud, or Makh-pea We-tah, had business with Captain George C. Whitcomb, of Forest City, concerning a wagon which the Indian had left with the captain. Reaching the hunting grounds in the southern part of Meeker County, the party divided, Island Cloud and four others proceeding to Forest City and the remainder continuing in the township of Acton.

On the morning of August 17 four Rice Creek Indians were passing along the Henderson and Pembina road, in the central part of Acton township. Three of them were formerly Upper Indians; the fourth had a Medawakanton father and a Wahpaton mother. Their names, in English, were Brown Wing, Breaks Up and Scatters, Ghost That Kills, and Crawls Against; the last named was living in Manitoba in 1891. Two of the four were dressed as white men; the others were partly in Indian costume. None of them were more than thirty years of age, but each seemed older.

As these Indians were passing the house and premises of Robinson Jones, four miles south of the present site of Grove City, one of them found some hen's eggs in a fence corner and proceeded to appropriate them. One of his comrades remonstrated against his taking the eggs because they belonged to a white man and a discussion of the character of a quarrel resulted. To the compiler, in June, 1894, Chief Big Eagle related the particulars of this incident, as follows:

> I will tell you how this was done, as it was told to me by all of the four young men who did the killing. * * * They came to a settler's fence and here they found a hen's nest with some eggs in it. One of them took the eggs when another said: "Don't take them, for they belong to a white man and we may get into trouble." The other

was angry, for he was very hungry and wanted to eat the eggs, and he dashed them to the ground and replied: "You are a coward. You are afraid of the white man. You are afraid to take even an egg from him, though you are half starved. Yes, you are a coward and I will tell everybody so." The other said: "I am not a coward. I am not afraid of the white man, and to show you that I am not I will go to the house and shoot him. Are you brave enough to go with me?" The one who had taken the eggs replied: "Yes, I will go with you and we will see who is the brave." Their two companions then said: "We will go with you and we will be brave too." Then they all went to the house of the white man. (See Vol. 6. Minn. Hist. Socy. Coll., p. 389; also, St. Paul Pioneer Press, July 1, 1894.)

Robinson Jones was a pioneer settler in Acton township. He and others came from a lumber camp in Northern Minnesota, in the spring of 1857, and made claims in the same neighborhood. January 4, 1861, Jones married a widow named Ann Baker, with an adult son, Howard Baker, who had a wife and two young children, and lived on his own claim, in a good log house, half a mile north of his step-father. The marriage ceremony uniting Jones and Mrs. Baker was performed by James C. Bright, a justice of the peace. In the summer of 1862 Mr. and Mrs. Jones adopted into their family a deceased relative's two children, Clara D. Wilson, a girl of fifteen, and her half brother, an infant of eighteen months. No children were ever born to Mr. and Mrs. Jones after their marriage.

Jones was a typical stalwart frontiersman, somewhat rough and unrefined, but well liked by his white neighbors. His wife was a congenial companion. In 1861 a postoffice called Acton was established at Jones' house; it was called for the township, which had been named by some settlers from Canada for their old home locality. In his house Jones kept a small stock of goods fairly suited to the wants of his neighbors and to the Indian trade. He also kept constantly on hand a barrel or more of cheap whisky which he sold by the glass or bottles, an array of which always stood on his shelves. He seldom sold whisky to the Indians except when he had traded with them for their furs, but Mrs. Jones would let them have it whenever they could pay for it.

August 10, a young married couple, Mr. and Mrs. Viranus Webster, from Wisconsin, in search of a Minnesota homestead, came to Howard Baker's in their fine two-horse wagon and were given a welcome and a temporary home until they could select a claim. As Baker's rooms were small, the Websters continued to use their covered wagon as a sleeping apartment. Webster had about $160 in gold coin, and some other money, and a good outfit, including a fine shotgun.

The Ghost Killer and his three companions went to Jones' house, and according to his statement, made half an hour later, demanded whisky, which he declined to give them. He knew personally all of the four, and was astonished at their conduct, which was so unusual, so menacing and threatening, that—although he was of great physical strength and had a reputation as a fighter and for personal courage—he became alarmed and incontinently fled from his own house to that of his step-son, Howard Baker, whither his wife had preceded him on a Sunday visit. In his flight, he abandoned his foster children, Clara Wilson and her baby brother. Reaching the house of his step-son, Jones said, in apparent alarm, that he had been afraid of the Indians who had plainly tried to provoke a quarrel with him.

Although the Jones house, with its stores of whisky, merchandise, and other articles had been abandoned to them, the Indians did not offer to take a thing from it, or to molest Miss Wilson. Walking leisurely, they followed Jones to the Baker house, which they reached about 11 A. M. Two of them could speak a little English, and Jones spoke Sioux fairly well. What occurred is thus related in the recorded sworn testimony of Mrs. Howard Baker, at the inquest held over the dead bodies of her husband and others the day following the tragedy:

About 11 o'clock A. M., four Indians came into our house; stayed about fifteen minutes; got up and looked out; had the men take down their guns and shoot them off at a mark; then bantered for a gun trade with Jones. About 12 o'clock two more Indians came and got some water. Our guns were not reloaded; but the Indians reloaded theirs in the dooryard after they had fired at the mark. I went back into the house, for at the time I did not suspect anything, but supposed the Indians were going away.

The next thing I knew I heard the report of a gun and saw Mr. Webster fall; he stood and fell near the door of the house. Another Indian came to the door and aimed his gun at my husband and fired, but did not kill him; he then shot the other barrel of the gun at him, and then he fell dead. My mother-in-law, Mrs. Jones, came to the door and another Indian shot her; she turned to run and fell into the buttery; they shot at her twice as she fell. I tried to get out of the window, but fell down cellar. I saw Mrs. Webster pulling the body of her husband into the house; while I was in the cellar I heard firing out of doors, and the Indians immediately left the house, and then all went away.

Mr. Jones had told us that they were Sioux Indians, and that he was well acquainted with them. Two of the Indians had on white men's coats; one was quite tall, one was quite small, one was thick and chubby, and all were middle-aged; one had two feathers in his cap, and another had three. Jones said to us: "They asked me for whisky, but I would not give them any." (See History of Meeker County, 1876, by A. C. Smith, who presided at the inquest and recorded the testimony of Mrs. Baker.

In a published statement made a few days later (See communication of M. S. Croswell, of Monticello, in St. Paul Daily Press for September 4, 1862,) Mrs. Webster fully corroborates the statements of Mrs. Baker. She added, however, that when the Indians came to the Baker house they acted very friendly, offering to shake hands with everybody; that Jones traded Baker's gun to an Indian that spoke English and who gave the white man three dollars in silver "to boot," seeming to have more money; that Webster was the first person shot and then Baker and Mrs. Jones; that an Indian chased Jones and mortally wounded him so that he fell near Webster's wagon, shot through the body, and died after suffering terribly, for when the relief party came it was seen that in his death agonies he had torn up handfulls of grass and turf and dug cavities in the ground, while his features were horribly distorted.

Mrs. Webster further stated that she witnessed the shooting from her covered wagon; that as soon as it was over the Indians left, without offering any sort of indignities to the bodies of their victims, or to carry away any plunder, or even to take away Webster's and Baker's four fine horses, a good mount for each Indian. Mrs. Webster then hastened to her dying husband

and asked him why the Indians had shot him. He replied: "I do not know; I never saw a Sioux Indian before, and never had anything to do with one." Mrs. Baker now appeared from the cellar and, with her two children, ran into a thicket of hazel bushes near the house and cowered among them. As soon as Webster was dead and his body had been composed by his wife, she, too, ran to the bushes and joined Mrs. Baker.

The two terror-stricken women were considering, as best their mental condition would permit, what they should do, when a half-witted, half-demented fellow, an Irishman, named Cox, came along the road. At once the women entreated him for assistance. The poor imbecile only grinned, shook his head and said to them that they were liars and that there had been no Indians here. When they pointed to the bloody corpses he laughed and said: "O, they only have the nose-bleed; it will do them good," and then he passed on, crooning a weird song to a weirder tune. A few days later, the report was that Cox was a spy for the Indians and he was arrested at Forest City and sent under guard, via Monticello, to St. Paul, where, on investigation, he was released as a harmless lunatic.

Horrified and half distracted, Mrs. Baker and Mrs. Webster, with the former's two children, made their way for some miles to the house of Nels Olson, (who was afterward killed by the Indians) where they passed the night. The next morning they were taken to Forest City and from thence to Kingston and Monticello. Their subsequent history cannot here be given.

Soon after their arrival at Nels Olson's cabin Ole Ingeman heard the alarming story of Mrs. Baker and Mrs. Webster, and galloped away to Forest City with the thrilling news, stirring up the settlers on the way. He reached Forest City at six o'clock in the evening, crying, "Indians on the war path!" In an hour sixteen of the villagers, with hunting rifles and shotguns, were on their way to Acton. It soon grew dark and nine of the party turned back. The other seven—John Blackwell, Berger Anderson, Amos N. Fosen, Nels Danielson, Ole Westman, John Nelson, and Charles Magnuson— pressed bravely on. Soon they were joined by another party of settlers headed by Thomas

McGannon. Reaching the Baker place, the settlers approached the house warily, lest the Indians were still there. In the darkness they stumbled over the bloody bodies of Jones, Webster, and Baker, and found the corpse of Mrs. Jones in a pantry.

In the gloom of midnight the pioneers passed on to Acton post-office, Jones' house. Here they expected to find the Indians dead drunk on Jones' whisky, but not an Indian was there. Prostrate on the floor, in a pool of her virgin blood, and just as she had fallen when the Indian's bullet split her young heart in twain, lay the corpse of poor Clara Wilson. No disrespect had been shown it and she had been mercifully killed outright—that was all. On a low bed lay her little baby brother of two years, with not a scratch upon him. He had cried himself to sleep. When awakened he smiled into the faces of his rescuers, and prattled that Clara was "hurt," and that he wanted his supper. John Blackwell carried him away and the child was finally adopted by Charles H. Ellis, of Otsego, Wright County.

In a corner of the main room of the Jones house stood a half-filled whisky barrel, and on a long shelf, with other merchandise, was an array of pint and half-pint bottles filled with the exhilarating beverage. The Indians had not touched a drop of the stuff—so they themselves declared, and so appearances indicated. The numerous printed statements that they were drunk when they perpetrated the murders are all false. Moreover Jones' statement that they wanted whisky and "acted ugly" because he would not let them have it, may well be disbelieved. After he had fled from the house, disgracefully abandoning Clara Wilson and her baby brother, who were all that could say them nay, the Indians might have seized enough of the whisky to make the entire Rice Creek band drunk; and when they returned from Baker's and killed Miss Wilson they could easily have plundered Jones' house not only of its whisky, but of all its other contents, but this they did not do. Of all Jones' household goods and his tempting stock of merchandise, not a pin was taken and not a drop of whisky drank. At Baker's they were as sober as judges and asked for water, (See Lawson and Tew's admirable History of Kandiyohi County, pp. 18-19; also Smith's History of Meeker County.)

On Monday, August 18, about sixty citizens assembled at Acton and an inquest was held on the bodies of Jones, Webster, Baker, Mrs. Jones, and Clara Wilson. The investigation was presided over by Judge A. C. Smith, of Forest City, then probate judge and acting county attorney of Meeker County. The testimony of Mrs. Baker and others was taken and recorded and the verdict was that the subjects of the inquest were, "murdered by Indians of the Sioux tribe, whose names are unknown." The bodies had changed and were changing fast under the warm August temperature, and were rather hastily coffined and taken about three miles eastward to the cemetery connected with the Norwegian church, commonly called the Ness church, and all five of them were buried "in one broad grave." (See Smith's History, p. 17.) Some years later, at a cost of $500, the State erected a granite monument over the grave to the memory of its inmates.

While the inquest was being held at the Baker house, eleven Indians, all mounted, appeared on the prairie half a mile to the westward. They were Island Cloud and his party. The two Indians that had come to Baker's the previous day, while the Ghost Killer and his companions were there, and had left, after obtaining a drink of water, and before the murders, reported to the main party that they had heard firing in the direction of the Baker house. Ghost Killer and the three others had not since been seen, and Island Cloud and his fellows feared that the whites had killed them in a row, while drunk on Jones' whisky. (Island Cloud's statement to W. L. Quinn and others.) They were approaching the Baker house to learn what had become of their comrades when the crowd at the inquest saw them. Instantly a number of armed and mounted settlers started for them, bent on vengeance. The Indians, wholly unaware of the real situation, and believing that their four comrades had been murdered and that they themselves were in deadly peril turned and fled in terror and were chased well into Kandiyohi County. Both whites and Indians in the vicinity of Acton were at this time wholly unaware and altogether unsuspicious of what a great conflagration was then raging in the Minnesota Valley and

which had been kindled by the little fire at Howard Baker's cabin.

All of the attendant circumstances prove that the murder of the five persons at Acton was not concocted by any other Indians than the four that did the deed, and that they had no accessories before or after the fact. It was not perpetrated because of dissatisfaction at the delay in the payment, nor because there were to be soldiers at the pay table; it was not occasioned by the sale of the north ten-mile strip of the reservation, nor because so many white men had left Minnesota and gone into the Union army. It was not the result of the councils of the soldiers' lodge, nor of any other Indian plot. The twenty or more Indians who left Rice Creek August 12 for the hunt did not intend to kill white people; if they had so intended, Island Cloud and all the rest would have been present at and have participated in the murders at Baker's and Jones', and carried off much portable property, including horses. The trouble started as has been stated—from finding a few eggs in a white man's fence-corner.

INDIAN MOVEMENTS AFTER THE MURDERS.

After the murder of Clara Wilson—who, the Indians said, was shot from the roadway as she was standing in the doorway looking at them—the four murderers, possibly without entering the Jones house, went directly to the house of Peter Wicklund, near Lake Elizabeth, which they reached about one o'clock, when the family were at dinner. Wicklund's son-in-law, A. M. Ecklund, who had a team of good young horses, had arrived with his wife, a short time before, for a Sunday visit at her father's. One of the Indians came to the door of the house, cocked his gun, and pointed it at the people seated around the dinner table. Mrs. Wicklund rose and motioned to the savage to point his gun in another direction. He continued, however, to menace the party and thus distract their attention while his three companions secured and slipped away with Ecklund's horses. Then, mounted, two on a horse, the four rode rapidly southward.

Some distance from Wicklund's they secured two other horses, and then they proceeded as fast as possible to their village at the mouth of Rice Creek, forty miles from Acton.

They reached their village in the twilight after a swift hard ride, which—according to Jere Campbell, who was present—had well nigh exhausted the horses. Leaping from their panting and dripping studs they called out: "Get your guns! There is war with the whites and we have begun it!" Then they related the events of the morning. They seemed like criminals that had perpetrated some foul deed and then, affrighted, apprehensive and remorseful, had fled to their kinsmen for shelter and protection. Their story at once created great excitement and at the same time much sympathy for them. Some of their fellow villagers began at once to get ready for war, by putting their guns in order and looking after their ammunition supplies. Ho-choke-pe-doota, the chief of the Rice Creek band—if he really held that position—was beside himself with excitement. At last he concluded to take the four adventurers and go and see Chief Shakopee about the matter. Repairing as speedily as possible to the chief's village, on the south side of the river, near the mouth of the Redwood, they electrified all of its people by their startling story, which, however, many of them had already heard.

WAR DECLARED AGAINST THE WHITES.

Shakopee (or Little Six) was a non-progressive Indian, who lived in a tepee and generally as an Indian—scorning the adjuncts of the white man. The story of the killing stirred him, and the excitement among his band, some members of which were already shouting the war-whoop and preparing to fight, affected him so that, while he declared that he was for war, he did not know what to do. "Let us go down and see Little Crow and the others at the Agency," he said at last. Accordingly Shakopee, the Rice Creek chief, two of the four young men who still smelled of the white people's blood they had spilled, and a considerable number of other Rice Creekers,

and members of Shakopee's band, although it was midnight, went down to consult the greatest of the Sioux, Tah O Yahte Dootah, or Little Crow. Messengers were also sent to the other sub-chiefs inviting them to a war council at Little Crow's house. The chief was startled by the appearance of Shakopee and the others, and at first seemed nonplussed and at a loss to decide. Finally he agreed to the war, said the whites of the Upper Minnesota must all be killed, and he commended the young murderers for shedding the first blood, saying they had "done well," Big Eagle thus relates the incident:

Shakopee took the young men to Little Crow's frame house, two miles above the Agency, and he sat up in bed and listened to their story. He said war was now declared. Blood had been shed, the annuities would be stopped, and the whites would take a dreadful vengeance because women had been killed. Wabasha, Wacouta, myself, and some others talked for peace, but nobody would listen to us, and soon the general cry was: "Kill the whites, and kill all these cut-hairs [Indians and half bloods who had cut their hair and put on white men's clothes] that will not join us." Then a council was held and war was declared. The women began to run bullets and the men to clean their guns. Parties formed and dashed away in the darkness to kill the settlers. Little Crow gave orders to attack the agency early next morning and to kill all the traders and other whites there.

When the Indians first came to Little Crow for counsel and advice he said to them, tauntingly, "Why do you come to me for advice? Go to the man you elected speaker (Traveling Hail) and let him tell you what to do." But he soon came around all right.

THE MASSACRE AT THE LOWER AGENCY.

Between 6 and 7 o'clock on the morning of August 18, the first shot was fired and the first white man was killed at the Lower Agency and the dreadful massacre began. James W. Lynd, ex-state senator from Sibley County, and of whom further mention is made elsewhere, was now a clerk in Myrick's trading house at the Agency. He was standing upon a door step watching the movements of some Indians who were coming along with guns in their hands and acting strangely. Suddenly one of them named Much Hail, or Plenty of Hail (Tah-Wah-su

Ota[1]) drew up his gun and pointing it at Mr. Lynd said: "Now, I will kill the dog that would not give me credit." He fired and Mr. Lynd fell forward and died instantly.

The massacre then became general. The whites were taken quite unawares and were easy victims. No women were killed, but some were taken prisoners; others were allowed to escape. The stores presented such enticing opportunities for securing plunder of a greatly coveted sort that the Indians swarmed into and about them, pillaging and looting, and this gave many whites opportunity to escape and make their way to Fort Ridgely, fourteen miles. The ferryman, Hubert Miller (whose name was commonly pronounced Mauley, and whose name is printed in some histories as Jacob Mauley) stuck to his post and ferried people across to the north side until all had passed; then the Indians killed him.

The Indians in large numbers crossed the Minnesota and began their bloody work among the settlers along Beaver and Sacred Heart Creeks and in the Minnesota bottoms. A few settlers—and only a few were warned in time to escape. Shakopee's band operated chiefly in this quarter and the chief that night said he had killed so many white people during the day that his arm was quite lame. The other Lower bands went down into Brown County and directly across the river.

The dreaful scenes that were enacted in the Upper Minnesota Valley on that dreadful eighteenth of August can neither be described or imagined. Hundreds of Indians visited the white settlements to the north and east and perpetrated innumerable murders and countless other outrages. Scores of women and children were brought in as prisoners and many wagon loads of plunder were driven into the Indian camps. White men, women, and children of all ages were murdered indiscriminately, and often under the most terrible circumstances. The bodies were commonly mutilated—sometimes shockingly—but very few

[1]Until a few years since it was generally understood from the best authorities that the fatal shot was fired by Walks Like a Preacher, who died in prison at Davenport, but in 1901 Much Hail living in Canada, confessed that he was the one that killed Mr. Lynd.

were scalped. Only one mixed blood Indian, Francois La Bathe (pronounced La Bat) a trader at the Lower Agency, was killed. About twenty mixed bloods joined the hostile Indians; the others who would not join were made prisoners. Many mixed blood women were violated and otherwise misused. That night a large number of the settlers' houses and other buildings were burned, but many houses were spared. Some of the Indians declared that they needed them to live in the coming autumn and winter.

There was no resistance worthy of the name. Very few settlers had fire-arms or were accustomed to them. There were many Scandinavians that had never fired a gun in all of their lives. Then, too, the Indian attacks were wholly unexpected. The savages approached their victims in a most friendly and pleasant manner and slew them without warning. Very often, however, the white man knew that he was to be murdered, but he made no attempt to defend himself. Some Beaver Creek settlers—a Mr. J. W. Earl and sons, David Carothers, and a Mr. Henderson—whose families had been captured, and who were being chased by the Indians, turned and fired a few shots at their pursuers, but without effect. Though hundreds of white people were murdered by the Indians that day, not a single Indian was killed or severely injured.

Chapter XVIII.

AMBUSCADE AT REDWOOD FERRY.

THE startling news of the tragic scenes at the Lower Agency reached Fort Ridgely at about 10 o'clock on that day, (August 18, 1862,) but the extent and formidable character of the great Indian uprising were not understood until several hours later. The messenger who bore the shocking tidings was J. C. Dickinson, the proprietor of a boarding house at the Agency, and who brought with him a wagon load of refugees, nearly all women and children. Captain Marsh was in command of the Fort, with his company (B, Fifth Minnesota,) as a garrison. Lieutenant T. J. Sheehan, with Company C of the same regiment, had been dispatched to Fort Ripley, on the Upper Mississippi, near St. Cloud.

Sending a messenger with orders to Lieutenant Sheehan, recalling him to Fort Ridgely and informing him that the Indians were "raising hell at the Lower Agency," Captain Marsh at once prepared to go to the scene of what seemed to be the sole locality of the troubles. He was not informed and had no instinctive or derived idea of the magnitude of the outbreak. Leaving about twenty men, under Lieutenant T. P. Gere, to hold the fort until Lieutenant Sheehan's return, Captain Marsh, with about fifty men of his company and the old Indian interpreter, Peter Quinn, set out for the Agency, distant about twelve or fourteen miles to the northwest. On leaving Fort Ridgely the captain and the interpreter were mounted on mules; the men were on foot, but the captain had directed that teams, with extra ammunition and empty wagons for their transporta-

tion, should follow, and General Hubbard's account, in Volume I of "Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars," says that these wagons overtook the command "about three miles out."

In due time the little command came to the Redwood Ferry, but there is confusion in the printed accounts as to the exact time. Sergeant Bishop says it was "about 12 o'clock noon." General Hubbard says it was "shortly after noon." Heard says it was "at sundown," or about 6 o'clock. Some of the Indians remember the time as in the evening, while others say it was in the afternoon. As the men were in wagons the greater part of the way, the distance, allowing for sundry halts, ought to have been compassed in four hours at the farthest. Half way across the bottom the captain ordered the men from the wagons and marched them on foot perhaps a mile to the ferry house and landing.

Meanwhile, on the way, the soldiers had met fifty fugitives and seen the bodies of fourteen victims of the massacre; yet the commander, an officer of good judgment generally, and of considerable knowledge of the Indian character, did not seem to comprehend the situation. The language of his dispatch to Lieutenant Sheehan indicates that he believed the trouble was local and confined to the Redwood Agency. His conduct in marching straight forward after he must have known that, to some extent at least, the uprising was wide-spread, indicates his confidence in his strength to overcome any opposition he might meet. Peter Quinn, the old interpreter, with his forty years' experience among the Sioux in Minnesota, believed, from the first receipt of the news, that the danger was serious. On leaving Fort Ridgely with Captain Marsh and his men, he said to Sutler B. H. Randall: "I am sure we are going into great danger; I do not expect to return alive." Then, with tears in his eyes, he continued: "Good bye; give my love to all." Whether Quinn gave his opinions to Captain Marsh can never be known; if he did, their influence was ineffective.

There is some evidence (Heard, p. 73,) that at the last moment the captain realized the peril of the situation, and had just given orders to his men to retire when he was fired

RELIC OF THE INDIAN MURDERS—LAKE SHETEK.

PRESENT VIEW OF REDWOOD FERRY BATTLE GROUND.
(The figures 1 and 2 mark where the ferry rope ran.)

upon. The weight of testimony is against this supposition, however, and tends to prove that he either did not believe in his danger, or that he was indifferent thereto and determined to do his duty as he understood it.

When Captain Marsh and the men under him reached the crest of Faribault's Hill they saw to the southward, over two miles away, on the prairie about the Agency, a number of mounted Indians; of course the Indians could and did see Marsh and his party. Knowledge of the coming of the soldiers had already reached the Indians, from marauders who had been down the valley engaged in their dreadful work, and preparations were making to receive them. Scores of warriors, with bows and guns, repaired to the ferry landing, where it was known the party must come. Numbers crossed on the ferry boat to the north side of the river and concealed themselves in the willow thickets near by. The boat was finally moored to the bank on the east or north side, "in apparent readiness for the command to use for its crossing, though the dead body of the ferryman had been found on the road," says General Hubbard.

Of the brave and faithful ferryman, Rev. S. D. Hinman, who made his escape from the Agency, has written.

> The ferryman, Mauley, who resolutely ferried across the river at the Agency all who desired to cross, was killed on the other side, just as he had passed the last man over. He was disemboweled; his head, hands, and feet cut off and thrust into the cavity. Obscure Frenchman though he was, the blood of no nobler hero dyed the battle fields of Marathon or Thermopylae. (Heard, p. 67.)

When the command reached the ferry landing only one Indian could be seen. This was Shonka-ska, or White Dog, who was standing on the west bank of the river, in plain view. For some time he had been "Indian farmer" at the Lower Agency, engaged in teaching his red brethren how to plow and to cultivate the soil generally, receiving therefor a salary from the Government. He had, however, been removed from his position, which had been given to Ta-o-pi (pronounced Tah-o-pee, and meaning Wounded), another Christian Indian. White Dog bore a general good reputation in the country until the outbreak, and

many yet assert that he has been misrepresented and unjustly accused.

A conversation in the Sioux language was held between White Dog and Interpreter Quinn, Captain Marsh suggesting the most of the questions put to the Indians through the interpreter. There are two versions of this conversation. The surviving soldiers say that, as they understood it, and as it was interpreted by Mr. Quinn, White Dog assured Captain Marsh that there was no serious danger; that the Indians were willing, and were waiting, to hold a council at the Agency to settle matters; and that the men could cross on the ferry boat in safety, etc. On the other hand certain Indian friends of White Dog, who were present, have always claimed that he did not use the treacherous language imputed to him, but plainly told the interpreter to say to the captain that he and his men must not attempt to cross, and that they should "go back quick." However, White Dog was subsequently tried by a military commission on a charge of disloyalty and treachery, found guilty, and hung at Mankato. "He insisted on his innocence to the last." (Heard, p. 283.)

While the conversation between White Dog and Interpreter Quinn was yet in progress the latter exclaimed, "Look out!" The next instant came a volley of bullets and some arrows from the concealed foe on the opposite bank of the river. This was accompanied and followed by yells and whoops and renewed firing, this time from the Indians on both sides of the river. They were armed chiefly with double-barreled shotguns loaded with "traders" balls," and their firing at the short distance was very destructive. Pierced with a dozen bullets, Interpreter Quinn was shot dead from his saddle at the first fire, and his body was afterward well stuck with arrows. A dozen or more soldiers were killed outright and many wounded by the first volley.

Although the sudden and fierce attack by overwhelming numbers was most demoralizing, Captain Marsh retained his presence of mind sufficiently to steady his men, to form them in line for defense, and to have them fire at least one volley. But now the Indians were in great numbers on the same side of the

river, only a few yards away. They had secured possession of the log ferry house, from wich they could fire as from a block house, and they were in the thickets all about. Many of them were naked except as to breech clouts. Across the river near the bank were numbers behind the logs belonging to the Agency steam saw mill, and a circle of enemies was rapidly being completed about the little band.

Below the ferry a few rods was a dense willow thicket, from two to ten rods in width and running down the north or east bank of the river for a mile or more. Virtually cutting or forcing their way through the Indians, Captain Marsh and fourteen of his men succeeded in reaching this thicket, from which they kept up a fight for about two hours. The Indians poured volleys at random from all sides into the thick covert, but the soldiers lay close to the ground, and but few of them were struck. Two men, named Sutherland and Blodgett, were shot through the body and remained where they fell until after dark, when they crawled out, and finding an old canoe, floated down the river and reached Fort Ridgely the next day. Of a party of five that had taken refuge in another thicket three were killed before dark. One of the survivors, Thomas Parsley, remained in the thicket with his dead comrades until late at night, when he too escaped and made his way to the fort.

Gradually the imperiled soldiers worked their way through the thick grass and brush of the jungle in which they were concealed until they had gone some distance east of the ferry. Meantime they had kept up a fight, using their ammunition carefully but under the circumstances almost ineffectually. The Indians did not attempt to charge them or "rush" their position, for this was not the Indian style of warfare. Of the second great casualty of the day Sergeant John F. Bishop, (In Vol. 2, Minn., in Civil and Ind. Wars, p. 166, et seq.) says:

> About 4 o'clock P. M., when our ammunition was reduced to not more than four rounds to a man, Captain Marsh ordered his men to swim the river and try and work our way down on the west side. He entered the river first and swam to about the center and there went down with a cramp.

Some of the men went to the captain's assistance, but were unable to save him. He was unwounded and died from the effects of the paralyzing cramps which seized him. Some days afterward his body was found in a drift, miles below where it sank.

The ground where Captain Marsh and his company were ambuscaded was, as has been stated, at and about the ferry landing on the north side of the Minnesota River, opposite, the Lower Agency. From the landing on the south side two roads had been graded up the steep high bluff to the Agency buildings, and from the north landing the road stretched diagonally across the wide river bottom to the huge corrugated bluffs, two miles or more away, at Faribault's Hill. The Hill was so named for David Faribault, a mixed blood Sioux, and a son of old John Baptiste Faribault, and who lived at the base of the hill. He and his family were made prisoners by the Indians and held during the outbreak. At Faribault's Hill the road divided, one fork leading up the hill and over the prairie to the eastward and northwest, running along the crest of the bluff to Fort Ridgely. The other followed the base of the bluff down the river. There were two or three houses between the ferry landing and the bluff, and at the landing itself was a house. All about the landing on the north side, the ground of the main ambush was open; it is now covered with willows and other small growths of the nature of underbrush.

After the drowning of Captain Marsh, the command, consisting of fifteen men, devolved upon Sergeant John F. Bishop. The men then resumed their slow and toilsome progress toward the fort. Five of them, including the sergeant, were wounded, one of them, Private Ole Svendson, so badly that he had to be carried. The Indians, for some reason, did not press the attack further, after the drowning of Captain Marsh, and all of them, except Ezekiel Rose, who was wounded and lost his way, reached Fort Ridgely (Bishop says at 10 o'clock) that night. Rose wandered off into the country and was finally picked up near Henderson. Five miles from the fort, Bishop sent forward Privates James Dunn and W. B. Hutchinson, with information of the disaster, to Lieutenant Gere.

The loss of the whites was one officer (Captain Marsh) drowned; 24 men—including 23 soldiers and Interpreter Quinn—killed, and five men wounded. The Indians had one man killed, a young warrior of the Wahpakoota band, named To-wa-to, or All Blue. When the band lived at or near Faribault this To-wa-to was known for his fondness for fine dress and for his gallantries. He was a dandy and a Lothario, but he was no coward.

The affair at Redwood Ferry was most influential upon the character of the Indian outbreak. It was a complete Indian victory. A majority of the soldiers had been killed; their guns, ammunition, and equipments had fallen into the hands of the victors; the first attempt to interfere with the savage programme had been signally repulsed, all with the loss of but one man. Those of the savages who had favored the war from the first were jubilant over what had been accomplished and confident of the final and general result. There had been but the feeblest resistance on the part of the settlers who had been murdered that day, and the defense made by the soldiers had amounted to nothing. There was the general remark in the Indian camps that the whites, with all of their vaunted bravery, were "as easy to kill as sheep."

Before the successful ambuscade there has been apprehension among many of the Indians that the outbreak would soon be suppressed, and they had hesitated about engaging in it. There were also those who at least were loyal and faithful to the whites and would take no part in the uprising. But after the destruction of Captain Marsh and his command all outward opposition to the war was swept away in the wild torrent of exultation and enthusiasm created by the victory. Heard (p. 74) says:

> The Indians were highly jubilant over this success. Whatever of doubt there was before among some of the propriety of embarking in the massacre disappeared, and the Lower Indians became a unit upon the question. Their dead enemies were lying all around them, and their camp was filled with captives. They had taken plenty of arms, powder, lead, provisions, and clothing. The "Farmer" Indians and members of the church, fearing, like all other renegades, that suspicion of want

of zeal in the cause would rest upon them, to avoid this suspicion became more bloody and brutal in their language and conduct than the others.

If Captain Marsh had succeeded in fighting his way across the river and into the Agency, thereby dispersing the savages, it is probable that the great red rebellion would have been suppressed in less than half the time which was actually required. The friendly Indians would doubtless have been encouraged and stimulated to open and even aggressive manifestations of loyalty; the dubious and the timid would have been awed into inactivity and quiescence. As it was, the disaster to the little band of soldiers fanned the fires of the rebellion into a great conflagration of murder and rapine.

Chapter XIX.

ATTACKS ON AND BATTLES AT NEW ULM.

Immediately after the destruction of Captain Marsh's company at the ferry Little Crow dispatched about twenty-five young mounted warriors to watch Fort Ridgely and its approaches. About midnight these scouts reported that a company of some fifty men was coming toward the fort on the road from Hutchinson to Ridgely. Little Crow then believed that the garrison at Ridgely did not number more than seventy-five and that it would be a comparatively easy matter to capture the fort with its stores, its cannon and its inmates. At the time he did not know that the Renville Rangers had returned from St. Peter and reenforced the garrison.

Tuesday morning, August 19, Little Crow with 320 warriors from all of the Lower bands except Shakopee's—only the best men being taken—set out from the Agency villages to capture Fort Ridgely. Half way down dissensions arose among the rank and file. A majority wanted to abandon the attack on the fort temporarily and to first ravage the country south of the Minnesota and if possible seize New Ulm. Little Crow urged that the fort be taken first, before it could be reenforced but this prudent counsel did not avail with those who were fairly ravenous for murder and plunder which might be accomplished without danger, and cared less about the risk of attacking the fort, which would be defended by men with muskets even though its capture would be a great military exploit. About 200 of this faction left and repaired to the settlements in Brown County about New Ulm and on the Cottonwood, Little Crow, with about

120 men, remained in the vicinity of the fort watching and waiting.

The larger band of Indians made the first attack on New Ulm, on Monday afternoon, August 18. They were an aggregate force of Indian marauders who had been ravaging the surrounding country, murdering and plundering the defenseless citizens without opposition, and, emboldened by their success, determined to capture the town with all it contained, which they deemed would be a comparatively easy undertaking. Without a leader or a chief present, the attack was made in fairly good order and with considerable success, and bade fair to prove successful. The first formidable assault was made about 4 P. M., on the western suburbs of the town.

The people were thrown into a state of almost total demoralization by the unexpected attack, and for some time there was no organized defense. A majority of the citizens were without firearms or experienced in military matters, and were utterly at a loss what to do. But very soon they rose to the occasion and the emergency. The interior of the town was barricaded, making a large square surrounded by wagons, barrels, and other articles and within this fortification men, women and children huddled like frightened sheep. Soon after the attack commenced Captain L. M. Boardman, sheriff of Nicollet County with fifteen well armed and mounted men from the country, dashed into the town and contributed very materially to the successful defense. As soon as Boardman and his men appeared the citizens were emboldened to sally out from their improvised fort and attack the Indians boldly in the open, which effort was successful and the savages were driven away. Also, at about 8 P. M., Judge Charles E. Flandrau and his 125 volunteers from St. Peter arrived in time to participate in the last operations against the savages, and then the town was secure for a time. The Indians engaged in this attack did not number more than one hundred warriors, but they fought with such desperation and persistence that the citizens believed that they numbered five hundred men.

NEW ULM IN 1860.

The next day succeeding the first attack was passed in strengthening the barricades and in organizing generally for defense. The women of the town cooked for the men, cared for the wounded, and encouraged their husbands and brothers to fight to the last. Some of the women had carried water and rendered other assistance to the men on the firing lines, and some of them were ready to take the places of the fighters who should become disabled. In organizing for defense Judge Flandrau was chosen commander in chief, and he appointed Captain William D. Dodd, of St. Peter, his second in command, Major S. A. Buell provost marshall, chief of staff and general assistant. Captain Dodd was a well known pioneer of Minnesota and a strong character. Major Buell had been a naval officer and was an accomplished engineer. During the day fifty men from Mankato, under Captain William Bierbauer, and another company from South Bend arrived as welcome reenforcements.

As no Indians appeared, many of the defenders began roaming about the prairies and scouting parties were sent out to reconnoiter. A mile and a half from town they found nine men, some of whom were dead and others nearly so, and all horribly mutilated. These were a portion of a party of sixteen who had started from the town for their home at Leavenworth, on the Cottonwood River, and being attacked by the Indians endeavored to make their way back into New Ulm during the fighting of the previous day. Many other dead bodies were found at various distances from the town and buried. The sights and scenes were most horrible, pitiful, and exasperating. Neither age, sex, or condition had been spared. Some women and girls were carried away as captives, but the majority of the females among the settlers, even those who were perhaps most attractive, were murdered outright. Nearly all of the bodies were shockingly mutilated, but very few were scalped.

Nothing of serious consequence occurred until Saturday morning, August 23. At about 9:30 the Indians came down in full force and with representatives from all of the bands, including White Lodge's, Lean Bear's and Red Iron's of the Sis-

setons, and Wahpetons on the western frontier. Little Crow, however, was not present, having been wounded at the attack on Fort Ridgely the previous day. His band was present under his head soldier Gray Bird, or Zit-kah-tah Ho-tah. Big Eagle, Wabasha, Wacouta, Mankato and Hushasha of the Sioux, were present, as were Little Priest and sixteen of his Winnebagoes. In all there were about six hundred and fifty armed and fighting men.

The first assault was boldly and well executed, and the whites were driven back into the town. They were soon rallied and steadily held off the enemy for some time. The Indians soon surrounded the entire town and began firing the buildings from the windward side. At about 2 P. M., a considerable conflagration was ranging on both sides of the main streets in the lower part of the town and the almost complete destruction of the place seemed inevitable. A company of about fifty men was organized, a charge made down and through the burning streets, and the Indians driven out beyond the houses on the outskirts of the town.

To prevent the Indians from the further use of the houses on the outskirts as forts and breastworks, Judge Flandrau had a large number of them burned; in some of them valuable furniture and other articles were consumed. The way was now clear for the riflemen to return the shots of the redmen and keep them at a distance. The desperate character of the fightnig which had occurred may be understood when it is stated that in an hour and a half the whites had ten men killed and fifty wounded. Judge Flandrau had sent Lieutenant William Huey, with about seventy-five men, to guard the approach to the ferry, and as this company had crossed the Minnesota River it was cut off by the Indians and forced to retreat towards St. Peter. But in his retreat Lieutenant Huey met Captain E. St. Julien Cox, with reenforcements from St. Peter, joined them, and returned to New Ulm the next day. The company from South Bend, having heard that the Winnebagoes had joined in the outbreak, returned to their homes before the attack on Saturday, to protect their families in Blue Earth County, and on the morning

of the attack another wagon load of men left and went down the Minnesota. Judge Flandrau's force had therefore been reduced to about two hundred men armed and equipped. About 190 houses had been burned by the Indians and by Judge Flandrau's orders; the mills of the town had also been burned, and the situation was not only uncomfortable but alarming.

The fighting continued all of Saturday night and with desultory skirmishing between the outposts until Sunday noon, when the Indians drew off to the northward in the direction of Fort Ridgely and finally disappeared. There were in the town at the time of the attack from 1,200 to 1,500 noncombatants, women, children, and unarmed and invalid men. Had the Indians succeeded in taking the town, all of these would probably have perished in a general massacre, except those reserved for a worse fate. The whites were fortunate in having a fine corps of physicians and surgeons, who established hospitals and assiduously and skillfully administered to the sick and wounded. The women of the town cheerfully served as nurses. The refugees from the country were destitute, having been forced to leave their homes in the greatest haste, and were objects of charity of the people of the town. On Sunday, at noon, Captain Cox arrived with about fifty men, sent by Colonel Sibley as a reenforcement from St. Peter and Lieutenant Huey and his company accompanied them. The whites now felt that at least for a time they were safe.

But on Monday, the twenty-fifth provisions and ammunition had become scarce; the number of the sick was constantly increasing; a pestilence from the great stench of unburied bodies and from the exposure to which the people had been subjected, was feared, and there were constant rumors of the approach of the Indians with a very formidable and overwhelming force. After a thorough discussion of the situation is was decided to evacuate the town and to try to reach Mankato and the settlements below. A train of 153 wagons, loaded with women, children, and eighty wounded men, set out. Mankato was selected as the city of refuge because to reach it the Minnesota River would not have to be crossed, and the report was that St. Peter had all of the refugees that the town could care for.

The train was guarded to Mankato by Captain Cox and his company. Judge Flandrau with the main force accompanied it to Crisp's farm, half way between Mankato and New Ulm, and on the morning of the twenty-sixth endeavored to make his command return to New Ulm or to remain at Crisp's, so as to keep a force between the Indians and the settlements to the eastward. The men almost unanimously declined either to return to New Ulm or to remain where they were. They said they had been absent from their homes and families for more than a week; that they had driven back the Indians, and done all that could be reasonably expected of them. Captain Cox and his men were exception to those of the rest of the command. When Judge Flandrau called for volunteers to return to New Ulm, Captain Cox and his entire company of fifty men stepped forward ready to go where commanded and to remain as long as wanted. Flandrau's staff stood by him, and Freeman Talbott, of Le Sueur, made an eloquent speech to the other men to induce them to return, but his impassioned pleadings were in vain. The train arrived at Mankato on the evening of the twenty-fifth and the refugees were made as comfortable as possible by the generous and hospitable people of the place.

The loss of the whites in the two battles and the other fighting at New Ulm was twenty-four killed in the town, ten killed on the outskirts, and more than sixty wounded. The Indians lost but two men killed and about ten wounded. One of their killed was a half breed named George Le Blanc. He was lying in the grass when the charge was made beyond Main Street. and as the whites advanced fired and wounded one of them. Then he arose and ran, but a bullet sped after him and cut the great artery in the shoulder from which the blood spurted copiously. He soon fell and was finished. In their great indignation the whites cut off his head and scalped it and left the headless body to bloat and blacken in the sun. When Captain Anderson's company entered New Ulm, on August 26, the naked, decapitated corpse of George Le Blanc, once a handsome fellow lay swollen and putrid, the head, a ghastly object tumbled some distance from the trunk. The other Indian killed was

Chau-inkpa, meaning End of a Tree or Tree-top. Both were Wahpetons, of the Upper bands.

The fine bronze monument which stands in a prominent part of the city of New Ulm, and which commemorates the heroic defense and salvation of the place during the great outbreak, was dedicated August 22, 1890, the twenty-eighth anniversary of the main battle. There were present on the occasion Judge Flandrau, Captain Cox, Major Buell, Freeman Talbott, and many other survivors of the battles, as were also Governor Merriam, ex-Governor Ramsey, and other distinguished citizens.

Chapter XX.

DEFENSE OF FORT RIDGELY.

ON Monday, August 18, after the departure of Captain Marsh for the Lower Agency, refugees from the surrounding country, mostly women and children, swarmed into Fort Ridgely in considerable numbers, all bringing tales of murder, outrage, and ruined homes. Lieutenant Thomas P. Gere, a boy officer, only nineteen years of age, was in command of the fort. The sutler, B. H. Randall, was of much assistance. Under his direction every barrel and tub in the fort was filled with water from the big spring under the bluff and taken into the fort. With a thoughtlessness that is most remarkable, during all of the history of Fort Ridgely no well was dug within its confines until in the summer of 1896, forty-three years after its establishment, when a bountiful supply of the purest water was found twenty-four feet from the surface. At about noon of the eighteenth C. G. Wykoff, clerk of Clark W. Thompson, the Indian Agent, and his party of four arrived at the fort with the long expected annuity money, $72,000 in gold and silver. By nightfall more than 200 fugitives had arrived. Lieutenant Gere had but twenty-two serviceable muskets and these were placed in the hands of suitable persons, who were sent out as pickets and guards to give the alarm of the approach of a hostile force. Among the men so placed was Jack Frazier, a noted half breed and a faithful friend of the whites, who had escaped from the Agency that morning under the fire of half a dozen rifles, leaving his wife and children to the tender mercy of his angered full-blood kinsmen.

Intelligence from Captain Marsh was expected every hour, but it did not come. Shortly after dark the two men sent forward by Sergeant Bishop reached the fort, bringing to the young officer the direful news of the slaughter of his comrades and the death of his captain at the Redwood Ferry. With the knowledge that new regiments were at this time being formed at Fort Snelling for the Union Army, Lieutenant Gere hurriedly penned a dispatch to the commander at Snelling, briefly detailing the situation and asking for help and requesting that Governor Ramsey be informed of the state of affairs. This dispatch was written at 8:30 and sent forward immediately in charge of Private William J. Sturgis, who was given the best horse in the garrison. He was also instructed to report the situation to Lieutenant Culver and Agent Galbraith and the Renville Rangers at St. Peter and hasten their return.

After mignight, when bleeding fugitives were still coming in with tales of horror, when the Indians had surrounded the post with a strong skirmish line, and Little Crow with a formidable array was reported as advancing Lieutenant Gere, tried and weighed down with a dreadful pressure and the dark hour upon him, sent out the following message (never before printed) to his comrade, Lieutenant Sheehan, who he knew was toiling forward under the stars to his help:

Headquarters Fort Ridgely, Aug. 19, 1862.

Lieutenant T. J. Sheehan—Force your march returning. Captain Marsh and most of his command were killed yesterday at the Lower Agency. Little Crow and about 600 Sioux warriors are now approaching the fort and will undoubtedly attack us. About 250 refugees have arrived here for protection. The Indians are killing men, women, and children. Have sent dispatches by mounted messengers to Governor Ramsey and commander at Ft. Snelling, requesting re-enforcements immediately. Lieutenant T. P. Gere, Commanding Post.

Immediately upon the dispatch of the courier to Lieutenant Sheehan, Lieutenant Gere ordered the removal of all the women and children from the frame houses to the stone building used as soldiers' quarters and which stood on the north side of the square. The fighting men were placed in the abandoned houses

and elsewhere. But the Indians made no night attacks. On the contrary, they were demoralized by the first news brought after dark by one of the scouts, who reported that a large number of soldiers was coming and Little Crow ordered his people to break up camp and fall back to the Redwood. In a few minutes, however, a second courier arrived with the intelligence that the armed force of soldiers seen did not number more than fifty men and so the order to retreat was countermanded. The force seen by the Indian scouts was, of course, that of Lieutenant Sheehan making its swift march from near Glencoe to Ridgely.

At about 9 o'clock the Indians began assembling on the prairies west of the fort. Most of them were mounted, but many were on foot, and some were in wagons. It seemed that they held a council to deliberate upon the day's program. While this supposed council was in progress cheers of welcome announced the arrival of Lieutenant Sheehan and his fifty men of Company C. Corporal McLean, the courier dispatched by Captain Marsh on the previous day, reached Sheehan's command at evening soon after it had gone into camp, forty-two miles from Fort Ridgely, between New Auburn and Glencoe. Lieutenant Sheehan at once commenced his forced march, and during the night covered the entire distance traversed by him in the two preceding days. Upon his arrival at the fort Lieutenant Sheehan assumed command.

Meanwhile at St. Peter at 6 P. M., on Monday, news of the outbreak reached Agent Galbraith, Lieutenant Culver, and the Renville Rangers. Obtaining fifty old Harper's Ferry muskets, which belonged to a militia company, the Rangers were armed, and at 6 o'clock Tuesday morning this gallant company left St. Peter, with barely three rounds of cartridges to the man and twelve hours latter drove into Fort Ridgely, completing its roll of defenders. The force now at the fort consisted of fifty-one men of Company B, under Lieutenants Culver and Gere; fifty men of Company C, under Lieutenant Sheehan; fifty men of the Renville Rangers, under Lieutenant James Gorman; about twenty-five armed citizens, in charge of Sutler Randall, and Sergeant Jones, Post Surgeon Muller, and a number of brave and

self possessed women who proved of as much service and value as the same number of male defenders. The total force numbered about 180 men; Lieutenant Sheehan was in supreme command over all. The non-combatants numbered about 300, some of whom were wounded, others sick, and others again in a condition of nervous prostration. Many of the women were in a delicate condition, adding to the embarrassment of the situation.

Three pieces of artillery were brought out and put into service. A six pounder field-piece was given in charge of Dennis O'Shea, an old artillery man; a twelve-pounded mountain howitzer was put under Sergeant J. G. McGrew, and another howitzer in charge of J. C. Whipple, an experienced artillerist. Thus organized, the garrison was confident of a sturdy defense should an attack be made. The open spaces between the buildings around the square were, with the exception of the southwestern entrance, closed with cord-wood and sacks of grain from the commissary building; there were no regular intrenching tools at hand.

Repulsed in the attack made at New Ulm on the nineteenth, the Indians determined to carry out Little Crow's original plan, to attempt the capture of Fort Ridgely, and on Wednesday August 20, made their dispositions to this end. Knowing the facility of approach afforded by a long ravine to the east, and that the usual park of artillery was on the west line of the buildings, the main attacking party, under Little Crow, was moved down the river valley to the mouth of this ravine—sometimes called Fort Creek—then under its shelter to a point opposite the fort. This movement was executed under cover and entirely unobserved to divert attention from the real point of attack. A number of Indians, at about 1 o'clock P. M., made their appearance on the west side of the fort, just out of the range of the pickets, mounted and apparently inviting attack. At this juncture the advance of the party under Little Crow, which was approaching from the northeast, was discovered by the pickets on that side and skirmishing commenced. The Indians poured a heavy volley through the openings at the north-

east and gained possession of some of the out-buildings at that quarter. Lieutenant Gere, with a detachment of Company B, was ordered directly to the point of attack, and moved at a "double-quick." Whipple, with his howitzer, was stationed in the opening between the bakery and the next building to the south, the detachment of Company C, moved on a run around the north end of the barracks to the row of log buildings; while Sergeant McGrew wheeled his howitzer rapidly to the northwest corner of the fort and went into position on the west side of the most westerly building in the row. All of these detachments at once became engaged in a hot fight at short range.

The Indian plan to capture the fort in the first rush was frustrated. Much of the ammunition belonging to the post was stored in a log magazine on the open prairie to the northwest and distant some 200 yards from the commissary building. It was determined to bring the supply in and two young soldiers of Company C, Charles E. Chapel and Charles A. Rose, were detailed for the service. They accomplished their work under a constant fire from the Indians and did not falter until all the ammunition was safely brought in. The men in the garrison were directed not to waste their shots, but to fire only when confident they would be effectual.

At dark the firing ceased but each man of the defenders remained where night found him, in almost momentary expectation of another attack. Little Crow, however, had withdrawn his forces to the Lower Agency. At midnight a heavy rain commenced falling and continued to fall the remainder of the night and throughout most of the following day.

Thursday passed at Ridgely without an engagement and the day was improved by strengthening barricades, especially at the southwest corner where, O'Shea's gun was in position. Another twelve-pound howitzer was manned and put in position in reserve on the parade ground under Sergeant Bishop of Company B. All of the artillery was in general charge of Sergeant John Jones, who directed the guns with great courage, skill, and efficiency.

Little Crow was determined to take Fort Ridgely. His first attack had failed, as he thought, from lack of sufficient numbers on his part. He resolved to make another attempt and this time to bring into action every available Sioux warrior of the Lower bands and those of the Upper bands who could be induced to join him. On Friday, August 22, with about 800 warriors, he marched from the Indian villages at the Lower Agency and reached Fort Ridgely at 1 P. M. The fort was fairly surrounded on all sides. A sudden but furious attack was made on the post from every available position. The garrison returned the fire with equal spirit and vigor and with great effect on the yelling Indians, who at first had hoped to effect a quick entrance into the post by the sheer weight of superior numbers. From the cover of the slopes approaching the fort their fire was unceasing and very accurate. They kept themselves under cover and well concealed; their presence could generally be detected only by the puffs of smoke when they discharged their pieces. Many of them stuck grass and golden-rod and ox-eyed daises in their head-bands so that they could not well be distinguished from the herbage which covered the prairies and hillsides.

The Indian attack continued for about five hours, or until 7 P. M. The plan of the chiefs after the first attempt had failed, was to keep up a continuous fire upon the garrison from every direction until the defenders should become weakened, and then attempt to carry the fort by a charge at the southwest corner, where the sally-port had been left open. To this end the greater portion of the warriors were collected at the south and southwest corners of the post under the cover of a ravine and the high bluff commanding the valley. Chief Mankato, The Thief, Big Eagle, and other noted warriors had charge of this movement. They took possession of the government stables directly south of the fort, carried away the horses and mules and began a fire from these structures upon the south line of the garrison. Sergeant Jones directed O'Shea to throw shells into the stables and set them on fire. This was skillfully done and the building were entirely consumed, the Indians falling back under

the cover of the bluff and of the ravine to the west. Sutler Randall's dwelling house was also used as a cover for the operation of the savages. The Indians attempted to fire the buildings in the fort by shooting burning arrows upon the roofs, but the shingles were wet and Major Randall and others were able to extinguish the fires before they had made any progress. Subsequently the roofs were covered with sod and dirt and thus rendered fire-proof.

About four o'clock the Indians massed in the ravine approaching the southwest sally-port, with Chief Mankato as their leader. His voice could be plainly heard in the fort as he harangued the warriors, urging them to be brave and not falter in their charge until they were inside of the fort. His voice was mistaken by some of the half-bloods for that of Little Crow, but at the time that chieftain was lying in the ravine to the northeast of the fort from the effects of the passing of Whippel's shell by his ear, it was at first thought the skull had been fractured, and it was three days before he was able to take the war path again. Just as the Indians were about to charge their design was discovered. Jones and O'Shea double charged their pieces with canister and reserved their fire in anticipation of the assault. McGrew fired a shell from his twenty-four pounder at a party passing around the northeast, and then training his gun westerley dropped a second shell at a point where the Indians were forming a reserve to support the charge. Jones depressed his piece and fired the double charge of canister directly into the ravine where the charging party was ready for the final assault, and the savages notwithstanding the efforts of their leaders, broke and fled down under the bluff. This was the decisive action of the battle. Subsequent movements were practically ineffective.

The Indians had a large encampment in the valley, close up under the bluff, to the southwest, and here their women engaged in cooking for them and caring for the wounded as they were brought back. The tepees were up and enough beef had been collected to feed the Indian army for three days. Into this camp Sergeant McGrew dropped two or three twenty-four pound shells

which exploded fairly in its midst. The effect upon the savages was disastrous. Women screamed, the dogs howled, the ponies broke their fastening, and there was a demoralized scampering to the westward. Very soon after this incident the Indians moved back to their villages about the Agency.

Had the attacks on either Fort Ridgely or New Ulm succeeded, the effect upon the whites would have been most serious. Had New Ulm fallen, the Indians would have swept down the Minnesota Valley on the south side, would probably have taken Mankato, and desolated the country as far eastward as Shakopee. Had Ridgely been captured, the Indians would have had the advantage of at least two pieces or artillery which they could easily have learned to use by the help of the disloyal half-breeds, and with the muskets of the defenders they would have constituted a most formidable army whose march could probably not have been checked until it had reached Minneapolis and Fort Snelling. But some years later Chief Big Eagle, in an interview with the compiler, said: "We thought the fort was the door to the valley as far as to St. Paul, and that if we got through the door nothing could stop us this side of the Mississippi. But the defenders of the Fort were very brave and kept the door shut 'Tee-yo-pa Nah-tah-ka-pee.'" When the state issued bronze medals to the defenders of the fort, the legand was in Sioux, "Tee-yo-pa Nah-tah-ka-pee." They Kept the Door Shut.

During the battle the ammunition was running low and under the direction of Sergeant Jones a number of women made cartridges to supply the deficiency. Sergeant Jones opened some shrapnel shells and took therefrom the round bullets with which they were filled and the women fashioned them into cartridges, numbers of which were used. Some of the men cut nail rods into short pieces to use as bullets.

Just as the fight was about over and Lieutenant Sheehan and his brother officers were wondering whether or not help was coming a courier came dashing in from Flandrau, at New Ulm, with the following message:

New Ulm, Minn., Aug. 20.

Commander Fort Ridgely—Send me one hundred men and guns if possible. We are surrounded by Indians and fighting every hour. Twelve whites killed and many wounded. C. E. Flandrau, Commanding New Ulm.

The day after the first attack Lieutenant Sheehan sent a message to Governor Ramsey describing the situation and asking for reenforcements. This dispatch was borne to St. Peter by John McCall and he and Jack Frazer, the half-breed, were the only two couriers out of seven that started from the fort and succeeded in getting through safely; the other were either killed or prevented by the Indians from reaching their dstination. Sheehan's dispatch to the Governor read:

Fort Ridgely, Aug. 21, 2 P. M.

Governor Alexander Ramsey:—We can hold this place but little longer unless re-enforced. We are being attacked almost every hour and unless assistance is rendered we cannot hold out much longer. Our little band is becoming exhausted and decimated. We had hoped to receive re-enforcements today, but as yet can hear of none coming. T. J. Sheehan, Co. C. Fifth Regiment Minnesota Vols., Comdg. Post.

August 23, the greater portion of the Indians abandoned their villages and fell back up the Minnesota to the Yellow Medicine. A force sufficient to encircle the fort and prevent entrance into or departure from it, was left behind to annoy the whites and give information of any change in the situation especially as to the approach of the reenforcements. The same day Lieutenant Sheehan sent a note to Little Crow, which was placed by a scout in a split stick some distance west of the fort and carried away by the Indians to the war chief. Following is a copy of this letter. It has never before been prinfed:

Headquarters Fort Ridgely, Aug. 23, 1862.

To Little Crow, Chief in Command of the Sioux Braves and Warriors—I wish to say to you that if you allow your chiefs, braves, and warriors to keep on murdering and scalping women and children, your Great Father at Washington will send white soldiers enough after you to whip your forces, and all the Sioux Indians will be either killed or driven to the Rocky Mountains. If you keep on fighting, take women and children prisoners of war, and fight the white men like a man. No brave Indian warrior will kill and scalp women and children;

therefor, I advise you to quit it and try and make peace with your Great Father. You can never take Fort Ridgely, as I have men enough to defend it, and as you know, after yesterday's fight, my big guns are working all right. T. J. Sheehan, 1st. Lieutenant Co. C., Fifth Minn. Inft., Commanding Post.

The guard book of the post is now in the possession of the Historical Society. The entry for August 18 shows that the countersign for that day was "Minnesota." For the twentieth it was: "Shoot all Indians you see coming." The same day other entries made were: "Kept a guard around the whole garrison divided into nine posts and three reliefs. A picket guard was kept out also. As the soldiers are all tired and worn out, we are obliged to use citizens as well as soldiers for guards.—(Signed) John P. Hicks, Co. C, 5th Reg., M. V., Commanding guard." No entries were made August 19.

While the withdrawal of the Indians on August 22, terminated the important hostile movements at Fort Ridgely, the garrison could not be aware that such was the case, nor for a moment relax its vigilance. The forces continued to occupy the positions, to which they had become accustomed. The rooms in the houses, including the upper half stories, were occupied by the soldiers, who were constantly on the lookout for another attack. In many instances the glass in the windows had been broken out by the Indian bullets, but the opening were barricaded and made fairly safe covers. The construction of a line of earthworks in the open space on the south side of the fort was begun; the roof of the commisary was covered with earth to prevent fire, and the barricades were strengthened as well as possible. Four more long days of isolation and suspense, of scanty rations of water and provisions, of little sleep, and privation of almost every sort, with no word from friend or foe, ensued.

At last, on the morning of Wednesday, August 27, just nine days after the first dispatch for help had been sent, there rode into the fort Colonel Samuel McPhail, of the newly organized Minnesota Militia, and Colonel William R. Marshall, at that time a special agent for Governor Ramsey, with 175

volunteers, citizens horsemen, who had left St. Peter at four P. M., the previous day, as the advance of the main relief expedition under Colonel Sibley, whose infantry reached the fort on the twenty-eighth. Thus was terminated the defense and seige of Fort Ridgely, one of the most gallant incidents in American military history, and one of far-reaching influence upon the prosperity and general welfare of Minnesota.

For its gallant and successful defense Lieutenant Sheehan was continued by Colonel Sibley in command of the post for about three weeks, or until September 18, when he left with his company for Fort Ripley. Company B, marched for Fort Snelling, November 9, as part of the escort under Colonel Marshall accompanying the Indian prisoners to that post. Uniting at Snelling the two companies proceeded South and joined their regiment near Oxford, Mississippi December 12, 1862.

Chapter XXI.

BATTLE OF BIRCH COULIE.

THE incidents preceding the battle of Birch Coulie are briefly related. General Sibley occupied Fort Ridgely with his relief force on the twenty-seventh of August, nine days after the beginning of the outbreak. On the thirty-first he dispatched a force of about 150 men to the Lower Agency with instruction to ascertain if possible the position and condition of the Indians and to bury the bodies of the victims of the massacre which might be found en route. This force, which was under the command of Major Joseph R. Brown, the well known prominent character in early Minnesota history, and then acting as major of a newly organized militia regiment, was composed of Company A, Sixth Minnesota Infantry, under Captain H. P. Grant; seventy mounted men of the Cullen Guards under Captain Joseph Anderson; a detail of other soldiers from the Sixth Regiment and the militia force, seventeen teamsters with teams, and some unorganized volunteer soldiers and citizens. The next evening several of the citizens returned to the fort. (Heard, p. 131.)

The command reached the Agency on the first of September. Captain Grant, with his company and the wagons, proceeded up the valley, on the north side of the Minnesota, to the mouth of Beaver Creek, thence up the creek about three miles, and then marched east about six miles to near the head of Birch Coulie. This portion of the command buried the bodies of Captain Marsh's men killed at Redwood Ferry and those of perhaps forty citizens at various points on the route.

On Beaver Creek "some thirty bodies" were buried, according to Captain Grant. On the way, too, in the Minnesota bottom, a German woman, named Mrs. Justina Krieger who had been badly wounded by the Indians, and was hiding in a marsh, was rescued and carried along.

Major Brown and Captain Anderson, with the "Cullen Guards," crossed the river at the Redwood Ferry, went to the Agency, buried the bodies of the slain there, and went up the river, or westward, to the location of Little Crow's village, which the Indians had abandoned a few days previously. Nothing was seen which in the opinion of Major Brown, who for thirty years had been intimate with the Indians and the country; Major T. J. Galbraith, the Indian agent; Alexander Faribault, for whom the city of that name was called, and his son, George Faribault, both mixed blood Sioux, and Jack Frazier, a half breed, indicted that a hostile Indian had been in that vicinity for four days (Brown's Report, vol. 2, Minn, in Civ. and Ind. Wars, p. 212a), although careful examination was made. Recrossing the Minnesota, at a ford opposite Little Crow's village the party ascended the bluff on the north side and reaching the prairie, rode eastward to the Birch Coulie, where Captain Grants' company had already encamped.

The camp selected by Captain Grant was on an excellent site. It was upon level ground, convenient to wood and water, and less than half a mile from a road running between Fort Ridgely and Fort Abercrombie, on the Red River of the North. A growth of fairly good timber fringed the Coulie on either side, and in the channel was plenty of good running water. To the west, north, and east stretched level prairies miles in extent. In his report (vol. 2, Minn. in Civ. and Ind. Wars, p. 212b) Major Brown says:

> This camp was made in the usual way, on the smooth prairie, some 200 yards from the timber of Birch Coulie, with the wagons packed around the camp and the team horses fastened to the wagons. The horses belonging to the mounted men were fastened to a stout picket rope, between the tents and wagons, around the south half of the tent. Captain Anderson's tents were behind his horses, and Captain Grant's were inside the wagons which formed the north half of the camp.

The encampment was virtually, therefore, a corral in its form and general character. Captain Grant detailed thirty men, with a lieutenant and two non-commissioned officers, for a camp guard and established ten picket posts—or really ten camp posts—at equal distances around the camp. The guard was divided as usual, into three "reliefs." Although in what might properly be termed the enemy's country, no danger of an attack was apprehended, and therefore no picket posts worth the name were established. The camp-guard posts were only about 100 yards from the corral. Major Brown assured the men that they might sleep as soundly "as if in their mothers' feather-beds" (J. J. Egan's Statement in Vol. 2, Minn. in Civ. and Ind. Wars), and the weary soldiers lay down to rest in fancied security.

At the time of the battle the ground was virgin prairie. Half a mile down the Coulie was the cabin and claim of Peter Pereau, a Frenchman, who had been killed and his family taken prisoners. A number of other settlers living farther down the stream had been killed and some of their houses burned. The land where the battle was fought belonged to the government, and was subsequently entered and occupied by William Weiss, from whom it was purchased by the State, in 1896. When Mr. Weiss entered the land, in 1865, the rifle pits dug by the beleaguered soldiers, the bones of the horses killed, and other evidences of the fight were plainly visible.

Of a truth the Indians had fallen back from the Lower Agency to Yellow Medicine, four days before Major Brown reached Little Crow's village. During the siege of Fort Ridgely Major Galbraith, the Indian agent, had sent Antoine Frenier, a gallant mixed-blood Sioux scout, from the fort up the valley, and Frenier had gone to a point near the Yellow Medicine and learned that large numbers of the Indians were there. But on his return the scout was cut off by scattering war parties, and prevented from entering the fort, and was forced to make his way to Henderson.

When General Sibley arrived at Fort Ridgely he sent two good and wary scouts, George McLeod and William L. Quinn

a reconnoiter and to discover the Indian's position. They made the perilous ride to near the Yellow Medicine, discovered that the Indians were there in strong force, and returned in safety. Quinn had been in charge of Forbes' trading house at the Yellow Medicine, and his family were prisoners among the Sioux. Riding in the night in the Minnesota bottom, his horse shied at a dead body which, by the gleam of a flash of lightening, he saw was that of his former clerk, a Frenchman named Louis Constans. Everything indicated that there were no hostiles east of the Yellow Medicine.

The Indians had left their villages about the Lower Agency in some haste and alarm, after their repulse and defeat at Fort Ridgely. With the exception of some scouts left behind to watch the whites, they retired to the Yellow Medicine and the mouth of the Chippewa River, where were the villages of the Wahpeton band, generally composed of Sioux not openly hostile toward the whites. In a few days the scouts reported that Sibley and his command had reached Fort Ridgely and that New Ulm had been evacuated.

Very soon the Indians determined to move down on the south side of the Minnesota to New Ulm, to there cross the river and get in the rear of Fort Ridgely, and then their future operations would be governed by circumstances. At the same time 150 warriors were to go from the Yellow Medicine to the "Big Woods" and harass the country about Forest City and Hutchinson, and seize a large quantity of flour, said to be at the Cedar Mill, in that quarter. Little Crow took charge of the "Big Woods" expedition in person, sending the rest of his band under Gray Bird, a farmer Indian, but now Little Crow's "head soldier," down the river with the other bands of Wabasha, Wacouta, Hushasha, Mankato, Big Eagle, Shakopee, and the rest of the Medawakantons and Wahpakootas. The savage forces left the Yellow Medicine on the thirty-first of August.

When, on the evening of September 1, the advance of the Indians reached Little Crow's village, on the high bluff on the south side of the Minnesota, they saw on the north side, out on the prairie, some miles away, Captain Anderson's company

marching from Beaver Creek eastward toward the Birch Coulie. They also saw in the former village signs that white men had been there only a few hours before, and, from the trail made when they left, concluded that these were the men they could see to the northward. Some of the best scouts were soon sent across the valley to follow the movements of the mounted men, "creeping across the prairie like so many ants." A little after sundown the scouts returned with the information that the mounted men had gone into camp near the head of Birch Coulie and that they numbered about seventy-five men. At this time, and until they attacked, they did not know of the presence of Captain Grant's company. (Big Eagle's "Sioux Story," vol. 6, Minn., Hist. Socy. Coll.)

Had the Indians persisted in their original plan to proceed quietly on their way down the south side of the river, unobserved by the whites, and paid no attention to the company of mounted men they had discovered, the result would have been most disastrous. But, with their hundreds of warriors, the temptation to fall upon the small and apparently isolated detachment of seventy-five men was too great to the Indian nature to be resisted. It was determined to surround the camp that night and attack it at daylight the next morning. About 200 warriors were selected for the undertaking. These were mainly from the bands of Red Legs, Gray Bird, Big Eagle, and Mankato, with some from Wabasha's and the other bands. There were also some Sissetons and Wahpatons present. Little Crow himself, with 150 warriors, was off on the expedition to the Big Woods, towards Forest City and Hutchinson.

When darkness had come good and black and sheltering, the Indians crossed the river and valley, went up the bluffs and on the prairie, and soon saw the camp or corral of the whites. Cautiously and warily they approached the camp and had no difficulty in surrounding it, for the sentinels were at such short distance from it—not more than a hundred yards. The ground was most excellent for a mere camping ground, but badly chosen for a battlefield. On the east was the Birch

Coulie, with a high bluff bank and fringed with timber; on the north was a smaller coulie or ravine running into the main coulie; on the south was a swale much lower than the camp; on the west was a considerable mound, and all these positions were commanding and with gunshot of the corral. The Indians could fire from concealed and protected situations, and nearly all of them had doublebarreled shotguns loaded with buckshot and large bullets called trader's balls.

The Indians under Red Legs occupied the Birch Coulie, east of the camp. Some of Mankato's warriors were in the coulie and some in the swale to the south. Big Eagle's band was chiefly behind and about the knoll to the west, and Gray Bird's was in the ravine and on the prairie to the north. Big Eagle says that while they were waiting to begin the attack during the night, some of the warriors crawled through the prairie grass unobserved to within fifty feet of the sentinels, and it was seriously proposed to shoot them with arrows—making no noise—and to rush the camp in the darkness.

In the dark hour just before dawn Captain Anderson's cook who was early astir, had his suspicions of danger aroused by noting that some of the horses with lifted heads were staring intently toward the west, and manifesting indications of uneasiness. Some fugitive cattle which had been gathered up and driven along with the command, and which had been lying down south of the corral, rose up one after another and began to move slowly towards the corral, as in retreating from danger. The cook had quietly awakened his captain and was talking to him of what he had seen when the alarm was given.

Sentinel William L. Hart, of Anderson's company, was on duty on the post between the eastern border of the corral and Birch Coulie. He was in conversation with Richard Gibbons, a comrade in his company. The dawn was coming faintly from the east when, looking in that direction, across the Birch Coulie, Hart saw what he at first thought were two calves galloping through the tall grass of the prairie towards the coulie. In another moment he saw that the objects were two Indians skulking along as fast as they could run and trailing their guns

at their sides. "They are Indians!" cried Hart to his companion, and fired. As if he had given the signal instantly there came a deadly roar from hundreds of Indians guns all about the camp, and the battle had begun. In the rain of bullets, Gibbons was mortally wounded, but Hart ran to the corral unhurt, and fought through the battle, living to become an officer in the police force of St. Paul, where he died in 1896.

At the first alarm nearly all of the men instinctively sprang to their feet, and, in obedience to orders, Captain Grant's company attempted to fall into line, and the swift, well delivered volleys of the Indians struck down thirty men in three minutes. The horses, too, tied at the borders of the corral, fell fast. Big Eagle says: "Owing to the white men's way of fighting, they lost many men; owing to the Indian's way of fighting they lost but few." The loss of the whites was twenty men killed four mortally wounded, perhaps sixty wounded more or less severely, and nearly every horse killed. Of the horses of Major Brown's report says: "Every horse belonging to the command was killed excepting six, which were left at the camp, being wounded and unable to travel." But Heard says that every horse was killed but one. According to the Indians one of their number, named Buffalo Ghost, the eldest son of White Lodge, captured a stampeded horse during the fight. Among the wounded were Major Brown, Captain Anderson, Captain Redfield and Indian Agent Galbraith. The Indian loss was small. According to Big Eagle endorsed by Heard, and sworn to by reliable Indians, it was two killed and "several wounded."

About nine o'clock in the morning of the first day's attack the pickets at Fort Ridgely sent in word that they could hear firing in the distance to the northwest. Investigation made it certain that there was a battle in progress between Major Brown's command and the Indians. Colonel Sibley at once sent a reenforcement. He dispatched Colonel Samuel McPhail, of the newly organized command called the Mounted Rangers, with fifty mounted men under the immediate command of Captain J. R. Sterrett and Captain C. S. Potter; three companies of the Sixth Regiment of Infantry (B, D, and E) under Captains O.

C. Merriman, J. C. Whitney, and Rudolph Schoenemann, and two small cannon, mountain howitzers, under Captain Mark Hendricks.

The infantry and artillery were under the direct command of Major R. N. McLaren, with Colonel McPhail, an old regular army man and an experienced Indian fighter, in command of the whole. In his report Colonel Sibley says that the whole force numbered 240 men.

The expedition made a forced march to near the Birch Coulie, over the Fort Abercrombie road, guided by the sound of the continuous firing. On nearing the coulie a large force of Indians appeared to the left, or south, of the advance. A demonstration was made against them by Captain Merriman's company and they fell back. The command moved forward half a mile, when a very strong line of Indians, under Chief Mankato and other noted Indian warriors, appeared in front and on the left flank. Colonel McPhail halted and prepared to fight. Two scouts of Captain Potter's company were sent forward, but soon had their horses shot under them and were chased back to the column.

The Indians were advancing, and had well night surrounded the command, when Captain Hendricks opened on them with his mountain howitzers and drove them back. Colonel McPhail, according to his own report, "did not deem it prudent to advance further." Sending two messengers, Lieutenant T. J. Sheehan and William L. Quinn to Colonel Sibley with a report of the situation, he moved his force to a commanding position about two miles east of the coulie, where he formed a strong camp, throwing up some rifle pits and awaited the arrival of Sibley with the general command from Fort Ridgely.

As soon as McPhail's messengers, who rode swiftly, reached him, Colonel Sibley formed his men under arms and at once marched to the relief of the now two imperiled commands. He marched during the night, joining Colonel McPhail in the forenoon of Sept 3, moved against the Indians, and by noon, without any more serious fighting, they had all been driven away from their positions about the coulie. Recrossing the Minnesota, they

speedily fell back again to the Yellow Medicine. Colonel Sibley returned to Fort Ridgely.

During the fight at the coulie the wounded whites were given the best surgical and medical aid possible by Dr. J. W. Daniels, assistant surgeon of the Sixth Minnesota and special surgeon of the expedition. He had a hard and trying task, for he was under fire all the time, but he did his duty so faithfully and efficiently as to merit and receive the gratitude of the recipients for his faithful care and the praise of his superiors and of all who knew of his services.

At the close of the contest Colonel Sibley conveyed the wounded in wagons to Fort Ridgely; the dead were temporarily buried on the battlefield. Subsequently all the bodies were removed by friends, with the exception of one, believed to be that of Peter Boyer (or Pierre Bourrier,) a mixed-blood Sioux, serving with Anderson's company, but belonging to the Renville Rangers, who was killed at the first fire, while on sentry duty a hundred yards west of the camp. A report that Boyer was killed while attempting to escape to his Indian kinsmen was never proven and is doubtless untrue. The bodies of the two Indians killed were buried during the fight in the Birch Coulie. They both belonged to Hu-sha-sha's band of Wahpakootas; one was named Hotonna, or Animal's Voice and the other, Wan-e-he-ya, or Arrow Shooter.

Chapter XXII.

INDIANS ATTACK THE NORTHWESTERN SETTLEMENTS.

IN 1862 the most important settlements in the extreme northwestern part of Minnesota were those in Meeker, Kandiyohi, and Monongalia Counties. Monongalia then comprised what is now Swift and part of Kandiyohi. The extreme outposts of civilization were in the region of West Lake and Norway Lake, in the northwestern part of Kandiyohi. These were composed almost exclusively of Scandinavian settlers.

From the Sioux villages on the Minnesota to the settlements in the Kandiyohi lake region was only an easy summer day's journey. While the majority of the Lower Indians who had risen in hostility were operating under their chiefs, against New Ulm and Fort Ridgely, marauding bands were ravaging the country to the northward, especially the weak and defenseless settlements on the extreme frontiers.

Leaving their villages on the morning of August 19, about twenty Indians, without a leader, and bent on murder and pillage, set out for the Kandiyohi lake region. They had frequently hunted in that region, knew the country thoroughly and many of the people personally. When they first set out only a few were mounted; in a day or two all were. Nearly all were dressed in citizens' clothing complete, their faces were unpainted, their demeanor was friendly and their every appearance indicated that they were merely Indian hunting parties, which had become so familiar to the people of the country. So without any danger, they could easily get within

killing distance of their victims and slay them without a moments warning.

Early on the morning of August 20, about twenty Indians made their appearance at the Broberg settlement, on West Lake, partly in what is now the northwestern part of Kandiyohi and partly in Swift County. Here they murdered fourteen persons in less than fourteen minutes. The families suffering most severely were those of Anders P. Broberg, Daniel P. Broberg, and Andreas Lundborg, which were well nigh exterminated. The settlement was isolated and on the extreme frontier, and the people had not heard even of the murders at Acton.

No one was killed in the Norway Lake settlement, six miles to the eastward of West Lake, but the Indians visited and found victims in all of the other settlements at the various lakes in Monongalia and Kandiyohi Counties. Having won an easy victory the Indians proceeded to gather and garner the visible and tangible fruits thereof. From the West Lake settlement alone three heaping wagon loads of plunder were secured and taken to the Indian villages. A sum of gold coin, estimated at from $300 to $800, was found and carried away.

Island Cloud and his party went westward from Acton into Kandiyohi on Monday, when discovered and chased by Judge Smith's inquest party, but on Wednesday learned of the outbreak and at once went into it. With a dozen more from the Minnesota reservations, all mounted, they rode for the sparse settlements in the northern part of Monongalia and Kandiyohi. Before reaching Foot Lake the band divided. Seven went eastward and the following day overtook a caravan of fugitive settlers from Green Lake and Eagle Lake and killed two men named Backlund and Lorentson.

The other party killed Berger Thorson, an old bachelor living on Foot Lake, and wherein is now the Third Ward of the town of Willmar, and finally brought up at Oscar Erickson's cabin between Mud Lake and Eagle Lake. Here were a number of people who had heard of the outbreak and were preparing to go to Green Lake and join their neighbors with a view

of making an armed defense against the Indians. There were four men, Solomon R. Foot, Oscar Erickson, Swan Swanson. and Carl J. Carlson, with their wives and children. The white men were armed and the Indians knew that Foot could and would shoot. They spent an entire night in trying to catch the white men off their guard and unaware, all the while pretending the sincerest friendship. The next morning they shot and killed Carl Carlson while he was digging potatoes for them, and severely wounded Mr. Foot. The three men and the women then shut themselves up in the cabin and tried to defend themselves against the rather formidable attacks of the Indians. Mr. Foot was again wounded; his wife was slightly hurt, while Erickson was shot in the groin and wholly prostrated. Although badly hurt Mr. Foot kept shooting and succeeded in wounding two Indians, who were hauled away by their comrades. About noon the savages rode away to the northward.

On Thursday, at their husband's directions Mrs. Foot and Mrs. Erickson started for Green Lake for help, and Swan Swanson and his family went to an island in Foot Lake. Foot and Erickson were left alone, wounded and helpless. The Indians that went northward soon killed Carl Carlson's father and Olaf Haugen and his wife and son. On Solomon Lake they killed Lars Endreson and his son Endre, badly wounded his other son, Ole, drove off his cattle, and carried away his oldest two daughters, Guri and Brita. Mrs. Guri Endreson hid in the cellar with her little daughter Anna. The next morning she started for Eagle Lake but lost her way and after an absence of a day and a night returned to her cabin. Here she found her wounded boy, Ole, trying to cook his dinner. Yoking two mismatched oxen to a sled the mother and son drove to the cabin of Oscar Erickson, who was a son-in-law of Mrs. Endreson. Hearing the moans of Foot and Erickson within the house they concluded that the voices were those of Indians and retreated. The next morning they returned and learned the truth, Mrs. Endreson ministered to the two wounded men as best she could, placed them in a wagon, attached the oxen

and drove to Forest City. The two daughters of Mrs. Endreson Guri and Brita, escaped from their captors, after having been held as prisoners for but a few hours, and succeeded in reaching Forest City.

Although menaced by the Indians to the south and westward and with an open road of escape to the eastward, many plucky settlers of Meeker and McLeod Counties determined to stand their grounds and defend their homes and families.

When on August 19, the people of Forest City returned from the inquest at Acton, they learned a few hours later that the oubreak was general. Judge A. C. Smith at once sent a note to Governor Ramsey asking for "guns and ammunition to match." The message was carried by old Jesse V. Branham, then past sixty years of age, who volunteered for the service and rode from Forest City to St. Paul, a hundred miles in nineteen hours. George C. Whitcomb, the county treasurer of Meeker, chanced to be in St. Paul, and Governor Ramsey gave him seventy-five Springfield muskets and a supply of ammunition and directed him to return to Forest City at once. Whitcomb did not reach Forest City until the morning of the twenty-third. Passing through Hutchinson, he found many of the citizens willing to fight but they were without arms. He gave them thirty-one muskets and a thousand cartridges, and they soon had a company of volunteers, with Lewis Harrington as captain.

When Whitcomb arrived at Forest City with his forty-four muskets, he found thirteen men and three women in the village. During the preceding four days 170 team loads of fugitives had passed through the place en route to St. Cloud and other points on the Mississippi. Men came in from the hamlet of Manannah and other points in the surrounding country when they heard that arms had been received, and on the twenty-fifth a company of thirty had been organized with George C. Whitcomb as captain and J. B. Atkinson and Hamlet Stevens as lieutenants. The company was subsequently increased to about sixty men.

August 27, eleven residents of Manannah left Forest City for their homes, to procure some supplies which they had left behind. At Carlos Caswell's house they ran into a band of a dozen Indians and four of them were killed, viz: Linus Howe, Wilmot Maybee, Philip H. Dick, and Joseph Page. The other members of the party secreted themselves, and the Indians secured the teams and supplies and went away with them.

September 1, a detachment of Captain Whitcomb's company were sent to rescue refugees, who were reported to be on an island in Green Lake. The party met some Indians at Swede Grove with whom they had a skirmish, which resulted in one of the number, Samuel Hutchins being severely wounded. The whites retreated to Forest City.

The following day another party composed of twenty of Whitcomb's company, and twenty armed citizens commanded by Captain Whitcomb started again to rescue the refugees. But while partaking of dinner, the scouts reported that Indians were approaching from the west. The whites at once began an unseemly retreat towards Forest City and upon entering that place there was found to be only two Indians pursuing them. The only casualty was caused by one of Whitcomb's soldiers accidentally discharging his gun and severely wounding O. B. Todd. The savages that frightened Whitcomb's party were those who had killed the four Manannah settlers, and numbered about twenty-five men all told; they were Upper Indians from the Big Stone Lake bands.

When the Indians set out from Yellow Medicine on the expedition which ended with the battle of Birch Coulie, Little Crow, with 110 men, largely of his old Kaposia band, went toward the Big Woods country, in the direction of Forest City and Hutchinson. Among the members of the party were White Spider, a half brother of Little Crow; the Walker Among Sacred Stones, the old head warrior of the Kaposia band; Baptiste, and Joe Campbell, Louis La Belle, and The Swan, half bloods.

The first day out the party made thirty miles. The next day, at noon, a hot quarrel occurred in the party. The majority

of the warriors wanted to go quickly forward and clean out all the whites at Forest City, Hutchinson and as far eastward as St. Cloud. Little Crow conjectured that "forts" had been built at Forest City, Hutchinson, Paynesville, and elsewhere, and he feared that attacks on them with his comparatively small force, would be futile if not disastrous. He wished to carry out his original design and conduct a desultory warfare in the Big Woods and prevent a white force from being sent to Sibley's help when the main body of Indians, then moving down the Minnesota, should fall upon and seize the route in the rear of that officer and his column. Already Sibley had called for Whitcomb's company to be sent to him, but the exigencies of the situation in the Big Woods demanded that this organization be retained at home. The other Indians who were for open, active, and aggressive warfare, argued that the whites were too cowardly to fight well; that there were but few of them left in the country anyhow, the greater part having run away.

The majority of the party disagreed with Little Crow and wholly disregarding whatever authority he had over them, they separated from him, choosing the old Walker Among Sacred Stones as their leader, and determining to fight along their own lines and according to their own ideas.

Little Crow was left with but thirty-four Indians and the four half breeds, too small an army, he thought, to operate successfully. So he set out for the Cedar Mill—in the southwestern part of Meeker County, intending to load his wagons with flour and then return to Yellow Medicine.

The seceding party went in the direction of Swede Grove, meaning to unite with the twenty Upper Indians and then start for the St. Cloud country. The separation occurred at noon of Tuesday, September 2, while the battle at the Birch Coulie was in process, and that night both factions, without the knowledge of either, went into camp near Acton post-office.

Meanwhile a company of United States volunteers had been recruited at Minneapolis, and became Company B, of the Ninth Regiment. The men were chiefly from Hennepin, with some from Wright and Carver Counties, and the captain was Richard

Strout, a merchant of Minneapolis. In the latter part of August Captain Strout was ordered with his company to the Big Woods country, and August 27 he arrived at Forest City. He had about seventy-five men armed with Belgian rifled muskets. The bullets furnished the men were too large for the muskets and had to be whittled or hammered down to the proper size. The morning following his arrival at Forest City the captain left with his company for Glencoe, a distance of forty-four miles to the southeast.

John H. Stevens had been appointed a brigadier general in the State militia and given command of a considerable portion of the Upper Big Woods district, with headquarters at Glencoe. He adopted most vigorous measures for the protection of the country; fortified Glencoe to an effective extent; organized and put into service a company of seventy-three armed citizens; stopped all able bodied fugitives at the first towns where they arrived and forced them into service. He directed that all of the towns or villages in the district be put in a good state for fighting and not abandoned while defense was possible. When Captain Strout arrived at Glencoe with his company, General Stevens at once directed him to return to Meeker County, where he was needed. "I will take care of Glencoe," said General Stevens.

Captain Strout marched from Glencoe on the morning of September 2, and that night went into camp in the dooryard of Robinson Jones, or Acton post-office. Less than two miles away to the southeast, lay Little Crow and his thirty-seven men, and two miles to the northeast lay the Walker Among the Sacred Stones with his seventy, and neither camp knew of the presence of the other, and Captain Strout was wholly unconscious of his peril. He had nine wagons, but only two mounted men, and he sent out no scouts or advanced pickets.

Tom Chambers came up to Forest City from Hutchinson that day and told of Strout's expedition into the western part of Meeker County. Captain Whitcomb knew that the next day Strout was liable to run into the Indians' nest, about Swede Grove, which he had encountered with such disheartening, if

not disgraceful results. So volunteers were called for to ride out in the darkness, find the soldiers, and warn them; it might be too late if they waited for daylight. Three brave men, Sergeant J. V. Branham, Jr., Albert Sperry, and Thomas Holmes, immediately mounted their horses and set out for Acton, taking a very circuitous route. In good time they reached the Henderson and Pembina road and found Strout's trail and followed it to Jones' door yard, which they reached at three in the early morning, riding fairly against the soldiers' tents, with no picket or camp guard opposing! When the captain and his men were informed of their danger, they became alarmed and excited and spent the remainder of the night in hammering and cutting down the big ounce minie balls into sizes adapted to the calibers of their Belgian muskets.

Captain Strout marched at daylight for Forest City, taking the round about course which the messengers had come, and starting southward in the direction of Hutchinson. While eating breakfast the men heard firing to the northeast by some of Sacred Stone Walker's people, and this increased their perturbation. The five mounted men served as advanced guard and 200 yards ahead of the foremost rode Albert Sperry, a Kandiyohi boy. Two miles south of Acton they ran into Little Crow and his thirty-seven men. Joe Campbell (yet living) says that the Indian picket discovered the whites when they were a mile distant and told Little Crow that 300 soldiers were coming. Whereupon the chief sent the half breeds with the horses into the woods and went into battle line with thirty-three Indians against seventy-five white men. The Indians position was a line across the road, the right wing in an open wheat field.

Captain Strout professed to be very desirous of a fight with the Indians. On coming up with Sergeant Branham and the other scouts he deployed his company in good form, advanced twenty men in a skirmish line and counseled everybody to "keep cool." On leaving Acton he had made a short speech to his men, assuring them that there was nothing to fear, "for," said he, "all the Indians between us and hell can't keep us

from mowing our way through them if they decide to fight us." As soon as the men came within gunshot, both parties opened fire.

At the second volley Alva Getchell was shot through the head and two or three others were wounded. After the third volley, Little Crow's half brother, the White Spider, who was acting as head soldier, sprang upon the wheat field fence, and by waving a blanket signaled the warriors to fall back slowly but to fight all the time. Campbell thinks, Little Crow fought only as a private, using a double-barreled shotgun. The Indians had just begun to fall back when a great tumult was heard in the rear. The party of the Walker Among Sacred Stones had learned that the white men were moving southward from Acton and came forward to "eat them up." The Indians about sixty in number,—a few having been left to keep the camp—were all mounted some of them on their old-time ponies, and came tearing up to the rear of the company and the wagons.

Upon the appearance of this new danger, Captain Strout at once divided his company. He sent Lieutenent J. C. McCain, with twenty-five men, to protect the rear, put his wagons in the center and himself took charge of the fighting in front. The Walker Among Sacred Stones left a dozen warriors to engage McCain, and deployed the remainder of his force on Strout's right flank, extending his line until he connected with Little Crow's party. A lake hemmed in the whites on their left flank and thus they were entirely surrounded, Strout claimed that he now had but sixty-three men in line, able to fight.

The Indians were closing in, and it was decided to break through the line of Little Crow's men in front and make for Hutchinson, fighting off the savages with bayonets if necessary. The detachment in front fixed bayonets and went bravely forward, under Lieutenant Clarke, and the Indians, who always avoided close fighting when possible, fell away to the right and left and made a clear passage way for the soldiers. The teams were sent through first. The drivers, once freed from the Indians in their front lashed their horses into a dead run and started for

Hutchinson. The wounded and those otherwise unable to walk were left to their fate.

Realizing their peril, the men ran after the teams, calling out wildly. Sperry and Holmes dashed ahead of the frightened drivers and with drawn revolvers forced them to stop. Then Captain Strout ordered them to take the wounded, to keep with the company and share its fate. The company now pressed forward as rapidly as possible, the Indians following and leaping upon the rear guard all the way to Cedar Mills. The old plow horses were wounded, became panic stricken and unmanageable and ran away; a few others were abandoned, and a few more, were killed by the Indians. The men, too, including the captain, were very nervous, and during the retreat showed little disposition to turn and fight. Whitcomb's three scouts were game. Sergeant Jesse V. Branham, Jr., was helping defend the rear and while reloading his gun got an Indian bullet through his left lung; he was supposed at first to be mortally wounded but is yet (April, 1908) alive. A little halt was made at Cedar Mills for water and to rest the wounded.

Captain Strout and the greater part of his command reached Hutchinson at about 3 P. M. The loss of the whites during the entire affair—which is commonly called the battle of Acton—was three United States volunteers and one citizen soldier killed and seventeen volunteers (one account says twenty-three) and one citizen soldier (Branham) wounded. Some of the wounded were severely hurt and one of them finally died of his wounds. The killed were Frank J. Beadle, Alva Getchell and George W. Gideon of the soldiers and Edwin Stone a citizen soldier. Abner C. Burnett, a volunteer, died from wounds some months later, and two other soldiers were so badly wounded that they had to be discharged. One Indian was killed and three others badly wounded.

The Indians under Little Crow and the Walker Among Sacred Stones went into camp at Cedar Mills, after seeing that further pursuit of Captain Strout's company was useless for the time. During the night they were reenforced by the twenty Upper Indians that had killed the Manannah citizens and chased

Captain Whitcomb's men. They decided to divide into two parties and attack Forest City and Hutchinson. They now numbered about 120 warriors, and the entire force was divided nearly equally. Little Crow, with some of his own and some of Shakopee's band and some Rice Creekers, was to make the attempt on Hutchinson. The other division which included some members of the old Kaposia band and other Lower Indians and the Wahpatons and Sissetons—under what leader cannot now be ascertained—was to fall upon Forest City.

Chapter XXIII.

THE ATTACK ON FOREST CITY AND HUTCHINSON.

WHEN Captain Whitcomb and his company were driven into Forest City, work was begun on the stockade in the village and rushed to completion. The stockade was 120 feet square. The walls were formed of a double row of logs, "on end," set three feet in the ground and extending ten feet in the air, with a bastion at each corner. It was at once occupied by all the population except eleven persons who were quartered in the village school house. Nearly all of the men of the garrison were well armed, many with muskets.

The Indians force selected to attack the place set out from Cedar Mills at nightfall and marched swiftly in the moonlight toward Forest City. At three o'clock in the morning of the fourth they arrived at the village and at once attacked. The moon had just set and the darkness, good and black, concealed them. Twenty of them forded the Crow River on the west, rode fairly into the center of the village, discharged their guns and gave the war-whoop. The pickets fired and ran into the stockade. The garrison sprang to arms, and began firing, largely at random and succeeded in striking a few of the savages. The other Indians surrounded and entered the town from different approaches and began seizing horses and looting houses, occasionally firing at the stockade. In the darkness they could not well be seen nor their location discerned except by the flashes from their guns. The garrison behaved well and nobody seemed panic stricken.

One incident fairly gallant in its character occurred. Outside of the stockade but near it stood a tall liberty pole, from

which floated a large American flag. Two desperate warriors of Little Crow's Kaposia band dashed forward to the pole and endeavored to climb it and get the flag. They were seen and twenty guns discharged at them, and they fell wounded. Then a third Kaposia man rode bravely up and sitting on his horse coolly cut the halliards, lowered the flag and bore it away with a whoop of triumph. The next morning at daylight the audacious savage appeared in plain sight of the garrison with the flag spread across his horse's breast and the ends fastened to his saddle bow. He shouted in derision, brandished his gun, and rode leisurely away. The name of this warrior was too obscene to be printed, but his identity was well known. In 1846, at Little Crow's command, and in the village of Kaposia, he shot and killed the chief's half brother, who had some time before fired upon and broken the chief's arm. He carried the flag to his death, when he fell with it at the battle of Big Mound in a wild, suicidal charge upon a thousand white soldiers.

Then Indians kept the whites in the stockade and looted the town at their leisure, securing many horses, some wagons, and other valuable plunder. At daylight they began burning houses and soon after they retired. Judge Smith says: "That they captured sixty horses and ransacked and burned four or five buildings."

After daylight, when the main body of the Indians was well out of the village, some half dozen warriors were seen driving off a herd of cattle. Brave William Branham called for volunteers to go with him and recover the herd. Five men responded and the six rode out of the stockade and galloped after the Indians. The foremost three were William Branham, H. L. Smith, and Aslog Olson. The Indians were chased away and the cattle recovered, but Olson was shot through the breast and Branham through the arm; happily both soon recovered from their wounds.

Early in the morning the eleven people in the school house, eight of them women and children, came into the stockade. The Indians had been about the building for hours, but had not discovered its inmates.

Of the people within the stockade Judge Smith says: "In the stockade that morning there were some forty men, armed with Springfield muskets, and about 200 old men, women and children, most of them unable to get out of the country." With the exception of the two men named not a white person was injured in the fight. The Indians had one man killed and four severely wounded.

It is probable that the Indians were unaware that a stockade had been built at Forest City, but thought the citizens were only protected by their houses. From their operations it seemed they designed riding boldly in and "shooting up the town," expecting that the people would run wildly out, when they could be easily disposed of. The big fortification was soon discovered, and this simplified the pillaging operations, one of the main objects of the attack; the whites could easily be kept within the enclosure and the plundering done thoroughly and safely.

The Indians retired from Forest City at 5 A. M., after two hours of active work, and divided into three parties. One followed the Manannah road to the northwest, and these were probably the Upper Indians, who had been in that quarter for some time; another went due south, on the Greenleaf and Cedar Mills road and these were Little Crow's band; the third took the Rice City (now Darwin) road, which ran practically in the same direction as the Cedar Mills road. The last two parties expected to meet Little Crow at the Mills after he had cleaned up Hutchinson.

Little Crow and his party left Cedar Mills at dawn and proceeding cautiously reached the suburbs of Hutchinson eight miles from the Mills at about nine o'clock, (September 4) and at once began operations. The hour was well chosen, for the pickets had been drawn in and many men had gone into the country harvesting for the day. A farmer named Heller was the first white man encountered by the Indian advance guard half a mile west of town and he was brought down with a bullet through his thigh. The Indians approached the village from three sides; the south side was left open, either because Little Crow's sixty warriors were not enough to make a living wall

about the place, or because it was hoped that the whites would attempt to retreat to Glencoe through the opening, and could then be more easily disposed of.

The company of home guards at Hutchinson was a very serviceable organization. It's captain, Lewis Harrington, was a brave intelligent officer, and his lieutenants, Oliver Pierce and Andrew Hopper, and the orderly sergeant, W. W. Pendergast were all capable. A good stout stockade, one hundred feet square almost a duplicate of that at Forest City, had been built, and surrounded by a deep ditch rendering it an impregnable and impenetrable fortress against an Indian attack. Within its walls were about 125 armed men, including fifty-five Strout's company and sixty of the Hutchinson Guards. At the commencement of the attack Captain Strout, seeing his assailants of the previous day again before him, dispatched a messenger to Glencoe, seventeen miles distant to the southward, for reenforcements, although he already had two men for every man that Little Crow could show.

The Indians, advancing into the suburbs, began burning houses, first plundering them. In a little time about twenty houses including the Hutchinson Academy and some of the best residence buildings in the place, had been destroyed. The smoke of the burnings was seen miles away. The Hutchinson Guards marched out of the fort, determined to drive the vandals away, but Captain Strout assumed the supreme command and ordered every man back into the stockade. The officers and a dozen of the men refused to obey the order and going to various points began skirmishing with the red skinned marauders. The other men in the fort seemed content to let the town burn and allow the savages free play.

About noon, when the stockade was surrounded by a circle of fire, Little Crow made a desperate effort to advance about twenty-five warriors from the grove west of the stockade and fire the buildings remaining on that side. They came up dangerously near the stockade, but retreated before the fire of the garrison. Om-ne-sha, or the Red Trail, who had been educated at Dr. Williamson's mission school at Kaposia called out in good Eng-

lish to the stockade defenders: "O, come out of your fort on the open ground and fight us like men!" But the whites were using the tactics of the Indians and keeping themselves concealed and protected while at the same time they were inflicting all of the damage possible upon the enemy and so the invitation was declined.

At about 4 P. M., the Indian fire slackened, and soon after the enemy retreated. Like the attack on Forest City the attack had been a great success in the matter of house burning and the securing of spoils. More than twenty houses had been destroyed and a great quantity of all kinds of plunder secured. In his description of the attack on Hutchinson the late W. W. Pendergast (Part 1, Vol. X, Minn. Hist. Socy. Coll. p. 84) says:

> Before they retreated the Indians had already sent back a dozen teams, more or less, loaded with household goods and other valuable plunder from the houses which they burned in the morning. Many persons who had come into the fort left their wagons and harness at home and their horses and cattle on the prairie. The Indians gathered up all the horses and oxen they could lay their hands upon, so that there was no lack of teams to haul away the plunder. They shot other horses and cattle which they could not use to the number of 100.

Little Crow brought away from Hutchinson a fairly large caravan of plunder and transported it in safety back to Yellow Medicine, going by way of the Lower Agency. He had so many wagons that he could not spare a driver from his warriors for every team; so one was fastened to the rear end of a preceding wagon, and one driver took care of two teams, sometimes three. All told he had not more than sixty fighting men, although the whites claimed that he had from 200 to 300. The greater portion of his band under Gray Bird was then in the vicinity of Birch Coulie and the Lower Agency, having fought September 2, and 3, at the coulie; while another contingent was with the party that attacked Forest City. The Indian loss at Hutchinson was three men wounded and one of these, the son-in-law of Medicine Bottle, died of his wounds at Lac qui Parle, (See Heard's History, p. 140) some days later. The whites had but one man, Amos James slightly wounded. A Mr.

and Mrs. Spaude and their two children, whose home was a few miles west of Hutchinson and who were trying to escape from the Indians were killed. Mr. Spaude was killed near his home, but Mrs. Spaude and her children were within sight of the fort when the Indians shot them.

Little Crow led his party, including the considerable caravan of plunder, back to Cedar Mills, where a big feast was held. That night according to previous arrangements, the party that had attacked Forest City joined them, and the two divisions had a merry time. One of the Forest City raiders, named Kasnaka Wangon, a Sacred Rattle, brought in the pretty young wife of Jack Adams, who had been captured that day. Her young child was taken with the mother, but it cried and was bothersome to carry along, so Sacred Rattle took it from its mother and dashed out its brains against a boulder on the prairie.

On the morning of September 5, the Indians again divided and then set out for their homes. Little Crow and the other Kaposia men went first to their old village near the Lower Agency and thence to Yellow Medicine; the Upper Indians rode straight to the Yellow Medicine and Lac qui Parle. A few miles south of Cedar Mills, an unknown young man, who had been hiding from the Indians for three weeks was found asleep on the prairie emaciated and half starved. He was tomahawked and his head cut off; but Little Crow said: "Poor fellow! He ought not to have been killed; he was too starved to do us any harm." (Heard, p. 141).

Soon after the Indians had retired from Hutchinson reenforcements were observed coming toward the place from the direction of Glencoe. These consisted of about fifty men belonging to Company H, of the Ninth Minnesota, under Lieutenant Joseph Weinman, and the Goodhue County Rangers, a militia company of thirty men, under Captain David L. Davis. General Stevens had ordered these companies to Hutchinson to reenforce Captain Strout and to relieve the place. Weinman had marched from Lake Addie seven miles south of Hutchinson where his company had been stationed. Captain Davis' Rangers were mounted, and, pursuant to orders had ridden from Glencoe

to Lake Addie and found that Weinman and his company had already started, then they followed after and soon overtook them and the two companies marched together into Hutchinson. On their arrival they made a reconnaissance and brought in the bodies of Mrs. Spaude and her two children, but found that the Indians were beyond pursuit.

Joe Campbell and others, who were with his party at the time, say that neither in the Acton fight nor at the attack on Hutchinson did Little Crow take a conspicuous part as a warrior or leader. At Acton he used a double-barreled shotgun in resisting, Strout's attack and in the pursuit of the fleeing volunteers, but did not distinguish himself above the other warriors. At Hutchinson he did not fire a shot and was not even upon the firing line. He remained in the rear with Campbell and the other mixed bloods, gave advice about the attack and helped to loot houses and to pack the wagons with plunder.

Here is perhaps as proper a place as another to say that, from all of the best evidence, the qualities of Little Crow, either as leader or as a warrior were not superior to any of his principal warriors and not equal to many. He was not of much physical courage. He seldom exposed himself to real danger. At the second fight at New Ulm he kept well in the background out of gunshot. At Fort Ridgely he was on the east side, safe among the bluffs, where there was not much danger; he could not be reached by a musket shot, and it was only by chance that Whipple's cannon ball came near enough to knock him over by its concussive action, or cause him to fall in dodging and dash his head against a stone, rendering him unconscious for a time. Some writers, in describing the second attack on Fort Ridgely, say that at the southwest corner, where the sally port was open, "the voice of Little Crow was heard urging his warriors to charge," etc. And yet at the time Little Crow was not within a mile of the southwest corner of the fort. At Wood Lake he viewed the battle from afar, (See Big Eagle's story in Vol. 6, Hist. Socy. Coll.) and when the Indians broke and began to fall back, instead of riding among them, rallying them, and leading them back against their enemies he cantered to the

rear and virtually led the retreat. He never killed a human being in his life, and probably never wounded but one, and that was in his death fight when Nathan Lamson gave him his mortal wound and he shot Lamson in the shoulder. He never wore but one scalp feather, and he won that by striking the dead body of a Chippewa that another Indian had killed.

Campbell, the secretary of Little Crow, says that at the chief's dictation, while on their way out from Yellow Medicine to the Big Woods he wrote letters to Governor Ramsey and Colonel Sibley, requesting a cessation of hostilities and a treaty of settlement. It was intended to transmit these letters to the whites at the first opportunity, but when they were read to the warriors they were greatly indignant and would not allow them to be sent. (See Heard, p. 144.)

After the damaging attacks on Forest City and Hutchinson, and the many other injuries inflicted by the Sioux in August and during the first week of September, the counties of McLeod and Meeker were put in a good defensive condition. Troops were sent in, stockades constructed and strengthened, and scouting parties examined the country thoroughly.

The Indian force that attacked Birch Coulie returned to Yellow Medicine after the battle. Here they were joined by the forces under Little Crow, and by September 10, nearly every Minnesota Sioux was in that region. The scouting parties found no traces of Indians in Meeker, McLeod and Kandiyohi, so Captain Strout sent details out into the country to assist the farmers in threshing and securing their grain and in cutting hay for the winter. Meanwhile, however, scouting parties were sent out frequently, and all precautions taken against sudden attack from the Indians, who usually appeared when least expected.

September 22, Captain Harrington's Hutchinson company was mustered into the State service as militia, and the following day Lieutenant Pierce and two men, Frank G. Jewett and David Cross, went some eight miles north of Hutchinson to search for a citizen named Sanborn, who had been missing for some days. On this day, September 23, while the battle of Wood Lake was in progress, a small band of Indians that

had sneaked into McLeod County began their murderous work. At 3 P. M., a messenger arrived in Hutchinson with a dispatch from Lieutenant Weinman to Captain Strout stating that Samuel White had his family, residing at Lake Addie, (now called Lake Marion) had that day been brutally murdered by the Indians. At eleven that night, Lieutenant Pierce and Frank Jewett returned saying that while searching for Sanborn that evening they had been ambushed by twenty Indians near Greenleaf; that Cross fell at the first fire with a bullet through his heart, and that they had escaped in a wagon, closely pursued by the savages.

It was now evident that the Indians were on the war path in McLeod again. The next day Captain Strout sent out a strong scouting party which returned with the mangled bodies of Cross and Sanborn. The latter had his skull crushed with a grubbing hoe with which he had been working.

Meanwhile companies from the newly raised volunteer regiments had been sent into Meeker. On September 9, Major A. E. Welch and the Third Minnesota Infantry, passed through Forest City on their way to Sibley's Army on the Minnesota. On the fifteenth Captain Pettit's Company, B, of the Eighth Regiment went into quarters at Forest City. November 22 it was reenforced by Company D, Sixth Minnesota under Captain J. C. Whitney. In February this company went to Fort Snelling and was succeeded at Forest City by Company B of the same regiment under Captain O. C. Merriman.

In the early days of September, Lieutenant William Burns, and forty-seven men of company K of the Tenth Regiment, and Captain M. J. O'Connor's Irish company, largely from Minneapolis were stationed at Kingston. Here Lieutenant Burns built breastworks and scouted the country thoroughly. September 22 word was brought to Forest City that the Indians were killing people at Lake Ripley, twelve miles to the westward. Captain Pettit sent to Lieutenant Burns at Kingston, for help and the same evening the two companies set out for Lake Ripley, where Litchfield now stands. The next day at Lake Ripley, they found the horrible mutilated body of a settler named Olson,

and proceeding to Acton they found en route two houses which the Indians had set on fire, but which the scouts saved by extinguishing the flames. Three other houses on Long Lake had been burned to the ground in the same neighborhood. Three women, who had been hiding in the woods for same days were rescued and sent to Forest City. The scout was continued to Diamond Lake, in Monongalia County. A few Indians were seen and fired upon, but they escaped. On the twenty-fifth on the return march to Forest City, the soldiers recaptured a herd of sixty-five cattle, which the Indians had collected in the surrounding country and were driving to their villages. The Indians escaped to the timber and could not be overtaken. The cattle were quite a prize to the soldiers who were nearly "out of meat." The officers reported that the prairies were fairly strewn with the carcasses of cattle, which had been wantonly shot down by the Indians and left to putrefy.

Chapter XXIV.

OPERATIONS IN SOUTHWESTERN MINNESOTA.

DURING the first days of the outbreak that portion of the State lying between the Minnesota River and the Iowa line was believed to be in serious danger. The country was thinly settled but easily raided, and enough blood could be shed and enough booty secured to pay for a foray upon it. In addition to its exposure from attacks by the Sioux, the Winnebago Reservation, with its 2,000 people and 600 warriors, was in Blue Earth County, and many people were afraid of a union and alliance for war upon them by both tribes. It was a fact that sixteen Winnebagoes, under Chief Little Priest, had been present at the massacre at the Lower Agency, had participated with the Sioux in the ambuscade of Captain Marsh and his company and had also taken an active part with them in the attacks on Ridgely and New Ulm. The Sioux and Winnebagoes were always friendly, and there was a possibility that the latter might be induced to join their Dakota friends in a common war against the whites.

In the latter part of August companies of mounted men were authorized to be formed in the southern and southeastern portions of the State. On the twenty-seventh they were directed to proceed at once to Blue Earth and Faribault Counties. Captain Cornelius F. Buck's company marched from Winona, September 1, and reached Winnebago City in Faribault on the seventh. On the way great numbers of settlers were met as they were fleeing from the frontiers to the more thickly settled re-

gions, for protection against an Indian attack which they imagined might be made.

September 4 a dozen Indians of White Lodges' or Young Sleepy Eye's band hearing that the whites had fled, went to the settlements in the vicinity of the Chain of Lakes, in Martin County, twenty miles west of Winnebago City and made a most successful raid. There was nobody to say them nay and they secured a great deal of loot and burned three houses. On September 9 Captain Buck removed his company from Winnebago City to the Chain of Lakes and sent word to the people to return and harvest their crops, but very few responded. Twenty of the company were sent to Madelia, and another detachment built a stockade at Martin Lake.

August 25 Captain Alonzo J. Edgerton, with Company B, of the Tenth Regiment, 109 strong, arrived at the Winnebago Agency in Blue Earth, whither he had been ordered by Colonel Sibley to watch the Winnebagoes. He found the white people of the section in great terror and alarm fearing not only an attack from the Sioux but an uprising among the Winnebagoes. On reporting the situation the captain was ordered to remain at the Agency to watch the Indians and to cover Mankato in case of an attack.

Meanwhile Mankato was not only protecting itself, but sheltering and defending thousands of its neighbors. Upon the first news of the outbreak, or August 19, a military company was formed for service against the savages. The company numbered eighty-two rank and file, and its captain was William Bierbauer. On the twentieth, the next day after its organization, the company marched to help their imperiled neighbors at New Ulm. After taking an active part in the battles at that place and having two men killed and five badly wounded, it returned to Mankato and was disbanded.

August 29, after his successful defense of New Ulm, Judge Charles E. Flandrau was commissioned by Governor Ramsey a colonel of the State militia and ordered to take command of the Blue Earth country and the region extending from New Ulm to the Iowa line comprising the then western and southwestern fron-

tiers of the State. He immediately established headquarters at South Bend. He caused Captain Bierbauer's company to be reorganized and stationed it at his headquarters during its thirty days' term of service, a detachment being sent to Madelia, on one occasion.

August 23, a company of fifty-eight men was organized at Winnebago City, with H. W. Holley as captain. September 7 the Fillmore County Rangers, 104 strong, and commanded by Captain Nathan P. Colburn, came up from Chatfield to Winnebago City, and, by Colonel Flandrau's order were stationed at that point, relieving Captain Holley's company, which was disbanded, and the members returned to their homes.

September 5, a company of forty-two officers and men, commanded by Captain J. R. Wakefield, was organized at Blue Earth City. Upon reporting to Colonel Flandrau, Captain Wakefield was ordered to remain at Blue Earth City, to erect fortifications, to procure subsistence and other supplies.

By means of a line of couriers daily communication was kept up between the Blue Earth City fort and Colonel Flandrau's headquarters, at South Bend and also between the post maintained by the Iowa authorities at Iowa Lake near the southern boundary of Minnesota. As time passed not a single Indian was seen, or heard of within reaching distance, or even expected to be, by Captain Wakefield and his men, and on October 5, after a faithful service of thirty days, the company was disbanded.

As soon as the citizens returned to New Ulm, they organized for defense. A small battalion was constituted and put into service to defend the place. Company E, of the Ninth Regiment, under Captain Jerome Dane, was temporarily mounted on horses and stationed at New Ulm. Later Company F, of the Eighth Regiment, under Captain Leonard Aldrich, was sent to New Ulm, relieving Captain Dane's company, which was then stationed at Crisp's Farm, half way between New Ulm and South Bend.

Blue Earth County was well cared for owing to the presence of the Winnebagoes. Colonel John R. Jones of the

State militia, brought up a company of sixty-two mounted men from Fillmore County under Captain C. L. Post, and they were stationed at Garden City. Company A of the Tenth Regiment, commanded by Captain Rufus C. Ambler, was stationed at Mankato, as a reenforcement to Captain John F. Meagher's company of local militia. Company G of the Tenth Regiment, under Captain E. C. Saunders, was stationed at Le Sueur. A company of Le Sueur militia, commanded by Captain James Cleary was organized and stationed at Marysburgh, in the southwestern part of the county, very near the Blue Earth line and commanding the Winnebago Reservation.

Captain E. St. Julien Cox, with his company of "Frontier Avengers," from St. Peter and detachments from other companies of State troops, was sent to Madelia. Here he erected a big strong log fort called Fort Cox. It was two stories in height, enclosed by a breastwork and a ditch, and a veritable fortress impregnable against everything but artillery. This was headquarters for the force defending the southwest.

When they were placed in position as above described Colonel Flandrau's forces held the entire southwestern frontier, from New Ulm, down the Minnesota, to South Bend; thence, up the Blue Earth River, to the Iowa line, with two advanced posts out on the Watonwan and at Lake Martin, the principal of the Chain of Lakes. No practical or important change was made in this line of defense during the period of active operations in the fall of 1862.

WRIGHT AND STEARNS COUNTIES PREPARE FOR INDIAN ATTACKS.

During the period when the Indian depredations were being committed in Meeker, Kandiyohi, and Monongalia, the people of Wright and other counties became apprehensive of savage raids and attacks upon them. Fugitives telling terrible tales of Sioux atrocities were daily passing through their communities, and an intensely excited condition resulted.

HOLE-IN-THE-DAY.

At Rockford, on the Crow River in Wright County, the citizens organized, built a substantial fortification, and prepared to fight. Stearns County was thoroughly aroused. The people expected attacks both from Little Crow and his Sioux and Hole in the Day and his Chippewas. At St. Cloud the citizens were organized into companies and did some scouting. At Paynesville, on the southwestern border of Stearns, and near the dividing line between Meeker and Monongalia, a sort of headquarters for operations was established and maintained for some time. A fortification was erected here. There were two forts so called built in St. Cloud. Sauk Centre organized and erected a fortification. At Maine Prairie, fifteen miles southwest of St. Cloud, the farmers banded together and built a most formidable log block house, two stories high; the upper story was for women and children. At St. Joseph, in the Watab Valley, the people built three strong fortifications. Company G of the Eighth Regiment, Captain George G. McCoy, and Company G of the Ninth, Captain Theodore H. Barrett, were sent to Sauk Centre, the latter company proceeding thence to Fort Abercombie. On September 3, Company E of the Eighth, Captain Edward Hartley, was sent to Monticello. These preparations against danger were fairly magnificent in their proportions, although they were made after the Sioux Indians, as organizations, had left the country, and after Hole in the Day and his band of Chippewas had been cowed into submission and quietude.

A few days after his arrival at Sauk Centre Captain McCoy was ordered to return to St. Cloud. This left the people at Sauk Centre, in the northwest corner of Stearns, far out on the frontier to protect themselves. They built another stockade of tamarack poles large enough to shelter not only their women and children but their horses and cattle. Then Captain McCoy and his men returned, and a few days later a company from the Twenty-fifth Wisconsin reenforced them and remained until about December 1. When the soldiers came back, the settlers at Grove Lake, came into Sauk Centre for protection.

Soon after the settlers at Grove Lake, which was twelve miles southwest of Sauk Centre, left their homes, the Indians slipped

in, burned one house, plundered others, and killed and drove away several head of cattle. September 22 ten Indians killed the wife and two children of a settler a mile from Richmond in the southwestern part of Stearns County and burned all the houses and killed all the stock—horses, cattle, hogs, and even poultry—between Richmond and Paynesville. At Paynesville, which had been abandoned some days before, they burned eight dwelling houses and all the outbuildings, leaving but two dwelling houses in the village. Captain McCoy, with forty men of his company from St. Cloud, and Captain Cramer with his company of mounted home guards, followed the Indian trail to Paynesville, but saw no Indians.

INDIAN RAIDS INTO THE SOUTHWEST.

Notwithstanding the rather formidable preparations made by Colonel Flandrau and by the people of the country to defend the southwest region against the incursions of the hostile Sioux, a few of the wary Indians succeeded in invading the country, in getting in their deadly work, and in escaping and making completely successful forays without having a hair of their own scalp-locks harmed. On September 10, when Colonel Sibley, at Fort Ridgely, was busy in preparing to advance against the Indians at the Yellow Medicine and they were equally busy in preparing to resist him, a murderous raid was made into Blue Earth County, near the Brown County line.

On the evening of the ninth a boy named Edwards reported that he had seen a party of Indians crossing the Minnesota from the north and coming towards the Butternut Valley. The next morning three Indians appeared at the house of James Morgan, near the Welsh church, in the midst of the Welsh settlement in the Butternut Valley. Twenty-two persons had collected at Morgan's for mutual protection. Three Indians came to the house, fired through the door and killed James Edwards and wounded a Mr. Lewis, and "passed on," as the account says, "without further molesting the inmates," and without the terrorized inmates offering to molest them!

"Passing on" these Indians chased a Mr. Jones and another man from a wheatfield near the Little Cottonwood. Then they came upon and killed Thomas J. Davis, who at the time, was hunting cattle.

At 8 o'clock the same morning half a dozen or more Indians broke up a threshing party at Jonas Mohr's, a mile and a half from Camp Crisp, where Captain Dane and his company were then stationed. They killed and scalped John S. Jones, mortally wounded Jonas Mohr, who died at Camp Crisp, shot John W. Trask through the wrist.

Major Read, with most of the mounted State troops at South Bend, and Captain Dane's company, from the same point, came tearing out to the Butternut Valley as soon as they heard that the Indians were there. They scoured and searched the country very thoroughly, saw four Indians in white men's clothing near the Welsh church and fired upon them but missed them, and then they scouted through the country again. Their mission and expedition failed to hurt a single Indian.

The Indians were estimated to number from ten to twenty warriors. Their object seemed to be to get horses; they came into the valley on foot, and when each warrior had secured a horse, with possibly an extra steed they left the country. They secured some other loot, too, but horses were the main object of their expedition.

September 21, two days before the battle of Wood Lake, a small party of Sioux raided Watonwan County. Four miles from Madelia, where Captain Cox's big fortress stood, they killed John Armstrong a prominent citizen and early settler, by shooting him with three steel pointed arrows. In the same vicinity they killed two children of a Mr. Patterson and made prisoners for the time of some of the other members of the family. A few rods from Patterson's house they killed a Mr. Peterson and made a captive of his child. All of the whites killed here were shot by steel pointed arrows, indicating that the murderers were not Minnesota Sioux, all of whom at this time had guns, but were probably Yanktons or Cut Heads, from South Dakota, who were commonly armed with bows and steel pointed arrows.

These murders in Watonwan were soon reported at the military posts. Colonel Flandrau at once directed that a determined effort be made to find and punish the murderers, and the militia and Captain Dane's company went out and spent some time in a vigorous effort to overtake the red raiders, but they failed most signally.

INDIAN RAID IN JACKSON COUNTY.

August 22, or four days after the outbreak at the Lower Agency and two days after the massacre at Lake Shetek, some of the White Lodge's band of Sissetons made a raid upon the settlements in Jackson County. The savages started for Spirit Lake, to repeat Inkpadoota's performance five years previously, but when near Springfield they turned back and fell upon the settlement on the Des Moines in Belmont township, in the northern part of the county. The settlers here were mostly Norwegians who had come in from Winneshiek and other counties in Northwestern Iowa.

The Indians went swiftly from cabin to cabin, taking the inmates by surprise, until they had killed thirteen persons. The victims were unable to resist. Two boys, one of them wounded, escaped while the Indians were plundering and outraging and ran down the river to the settlement at Springfield and gave the alarm. The majority of the settlers fled in hot haste to Estherville and Spirit Lake, Iowa, where many Iowa soldiers were stationed. Others however ran wildly out on the prairies and made their escape into Eastern Minnesota.

Saturday, August 23, the next day after the fugitives arrived Lieutenant James A. Sawyer the commander of the post at Spirit Lake, sent up a detachment of mounted men into the Indian scourged settlements of Belmont township. In the principal settlement they buried the dead and searched for Indians, but found none. On section six they found a house barricaded and defended by two brave Norwegian settlers with the old Berserker blood in them. They had a number of women and children under their protection. The Indians had beseiged them for several

hours, but the two men had guns and the knowledge and the disposition to use them. They fought off every attack. They believed they had wounded some of the savages and they knew they had killed one, because his carcass lay fifty yards from the cabin for anybody to see. The heroes and their precious charges were taken to Spirit Lake.

By the first of September, all of the settlers had left Jackson County and none of them returned until in the fall of 1863.

Chapter XXV.

ATTACK ON FORT ABERCROMBIE.

IN 1858 a military post called Fort Abercrombie was erected by the Government on the west side of the Red River of the North, at a place then known as Graham's Point, between where now stand the cities of Breckenridge and Fargo. It was then in the midst of the Indian country, and is now in Richland County, North Dakota. The regular troops that for some years had garrisoned the post were sent South after the beginning of the Civil War, and in 1862 their places had been supplied by Company D of the Fifth Minnesota, which was commanded by Captain John Van der Horck. A small place called Georgetown had been laid out about fifty miles down the Red River, or north of the fort, and here were a few settlers and a depot of stores belonging to the company engaged in the navigation of the river. At the commencement of the Sioux outbreak Captain Van der Horck had detailed half of his company to Georgetown to protect the interests of the settlers at that point.

On the twenty-first of August news reached the fort from the Yellow Medicine Agency that trouble was expected from the Indians. A treaty expedition was on the way to Red Lake to hold a council with the Chippewa Indians. The expedition consisted of the treaty commissioners and their party, a train of thirty loaded wagons, and a herd of 200 cattle. August 23, a rumor reached the fort that 500 Indians were on the way to capture the treaty party. A courier was immediately dispatched to the train, and it at once sought refuge in the fort. Runners were also sent to all settlements in the vicinity, and the warning spread of the

approaching danger. Fortunately nearly all the surrounding people gained the fort before the Indians arrived. The detachment stationed at Georgetown was also called in. A mail coach which left the fort August 22 for St. Cloud fell into the hands of the Indians, who killed the driver and destroyed the mail.

The garrison had been increased by about fifty men from the refugees, but they were mostly unarmed. Captain Van der Horck at once strengthened the post by all the means in his power and endeavored to obtain reenforcements. A company of about eighty armed citizens was organized and placed under the command of Captain T. D. Smith; the members of this company were chiefly pioneers and frontiersmen and for the most part were armed with double barreled shotguns and hunting rifles. Captain Ambrose Freeman, with about sixty men, started for St. Cloud to reenforce the Abercrombie garrison, but on reaching Sauk Centre the situation appeared so alarming that it was deemed impracticable to proceed farther. Attempts were made to reenforce the forts from other points. A portion of the Third Regiment was dispatched from Fort Snelling September 6.

Another expedition consisting of the companies of Captains George Atkinson and Rollo Banks, with a squad of sixty men of the Third Regiment under Sergeant Dearborn, together with a field-piece under Lieutenant R. J. McHenry, was formed and placed under the command of Captain Emil A. Burger. This command started on September 10, and after a long and arduous march reached the fort on the twenty-third, finding the wearied and anxious garrison still in position. En route, at Wyman Station, September 19, Captain Burger had been reenforced by the companies of Captains Freeman and Barrett, who had united their men on the fourteenth and started for the fort. Thus the relief party amounted to about 400 men by the time it reached its destination.

While the long delayed relief was on its way, the little garrison at the fort was hard beset to hold the position. August 30, a party of Indians made a bold raid on the post and succeeded in stampeding and running off nearly 200 head of cattle and 100 head of horses and mules which were grazing on the

prairies. About fifty head of cattle afterwards escaped and were restored to the post by a scouting party. There were not enough of the Indians engaged in the raid to take care of the booty and of course they did not offer to attack the fort.

September 3, the first attack was made on the fort; the Indians burned some hay-stacks and captured a few horses. Some of the whites were killed and Captain Van der Horck was wounded in the right arm by an accidental shot from one of his own men. A few Indians were wounded but probably none killed. September 6, a second attack was made by a considerable force of Indians numbering probably 100 or 125. The attack lasted nearly all day; the whites lost two men killed and several wounded. The loss of the Indians could not be ascertained. No further attack was made until September 26, after the arrival of the reenforcements, when some men of Captain Freeman's company were fired upon while watering their horses in the river. The Indians were routed and pursued by Freeman's company and a squad of the Third Regiment with the howitzer. The Indian camp was captured and a wagon load of tepees, blankets, and provisions secured. A light skirmish took place September 29, and this ended the siege of Fort Abercrombie.

For a detailed and fairly reliable account of the siege and defense of Fort Abercrombie see the History of the Fifth Regiment, by General Hubbard, in Volume I of Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars. Much credit of the successful defense is said to be due to Lieutenant John Groetch, who had command of the post after the wounding of Captain Van der Horck and conducted the defense during the fighting of September 3, when the Indians were repulsed.

The number of Indians engaged against Fort Abercrombie has always been, in published accounts, largely over-estimated. Captain Van der Horck imagined that he was fighting more than 400 of them; other participants placed the number at a less figure, but all have probably given large over-estimates.

Just what Indians took part in the attacks cannot with exactness here be stated, but that they were what was known as Upper Indians is certain. That they were for the most part

Sissetons, of the extreme upper bands, with a few Cut-Heads, is most probable. From first to last the largest number of Indians present and participating in the attacks probably did not exceed 125. The largest force seen was on September 3. At this date the greater portion of the Sissetons, under their principal chiefs, are known to have been in their villages about Lake Traverse and Big Stone Lake, while 100 warriors were taking part in the operation at Birch Coulie. The late C. P. V. Lull, one of the defenders of the fort, and who was wounded September 23, stated to the compiler that from all of the signs of the various Indian camping grounds, the sites of the corrals where their ponies had been tethered, etc., it was the deliberate opinion of those acquainted with the facts that the Indians did not number 100 men.

Chapter XXVI.

GOVERNOR RAMSEY TO THE RESCUE.

CHARACTER OF THE MASSACRES.

THE details of the massacre occuring in the great Indian outbreak are neither agreeable or profitable reading. In their most condensed form they would fill a volume. For the most part they constitute a record of sickening and horrifying atrocities, of unspeakable brutality, of loathsome crimes of every sort, murder being among the least. It would be a work of great magnitude and the result would not justify the labor to set out all of the incidents as they occurred. It is difficult, and in most cases impossible, after forty-six years have elapsed, to get at the real facts in even a majority of the incidents. Heard's "Sioux War and Massacres." Bryant and Murch's "History of the Great Massacre by the Sioux in 1862," Mrs. McConkey's "Dakota War Whoop," which were written and published not long after the outbreak, and each of which is, in the main, an excellent account of the Indian uprising and the incidents connected therewith, all contain many incorrect statements.

If there were many instances of courageous or commendable conduct on the part of the white settlers to be noted, the attempt might be made to give them. But, save in a very few instances, the whites were killed without resistance. Only two Indians were killed outside of the battles and legitimate skirmishes. Wm. J. Duly, a settler living near Lake Shetek shot and killed Lean Bear, a former head soldier for Chief Red Iron and then the sub-

chief of a small band of Wahpatons. Mr. Duly's wife and two children were carried away into a dreadful captivity, and another child was murdered by a squaw. Below Springfield, (now Jackson) near Spirit Lake three settlers were attacked by a superior force of Indians but won the fight by their bravery and drove off the savages. They killed one Indian named Big Head, and wounded three others. Some of the Beaver Creek settlers fought but killed no Indians, and escaped only by running. The other white men that were killed made no fight. The Indians said that they were "as easy to kill as sheep."

The majority of the settlers were unaccustomed to fire-arms and had none. They were foreigners, Germans and Scandinavians for the most part, and, except those that had served in the European armies, had never owned a gun or fired one. They had settled practically in an Indian country, at least in a region abounding in wild animals, but never had the disposition to feel it necessary to provide themselves with fire-arms. The women and helpless children could not be expected to fight, but they had a right to rely for protection upon their husbands and fathers; but—Oh, the pity of it and the shame of it!—their natural defenders could not defend themselves.

Nearly every settler was a poor man, who had come to the new country to better his condition. His team, if he owned one, was commonly a yoke of cattle; he could not afford to own horses. The lives of hundreds of persons might have been saved if there had been an ample supply of horse teams. Many people sought to escape in wagons drawn by clumsy, slow-moving oxen and were easily overtaken and murdered. All concerted efforts to reach a shelter and protection failed. Those who waited for their neighbors to join them and form a sort of caravan or train all perished. The concentrated force took less time and was easier every way to kill, than if its members had been dispersed and separated into units.

In the German settlement on Sacred Heart Creek, in the western part of Renville County about twenty-five families were bunched and waiting for others to join them when an imposing train was to set out for Fort Ridgely. Shakopee's Indians and

some Rice Creekers came upon these simple folk and slew without mercy about 100 men women and children on an area of less than two acres. Even the prettiest of the young maidens were not reserved for a worse fate but killed outright. All were devout members of the Evangelical church and the only effort they made to defend themselves was to kneel in prayer and thus facilitate their own murder. Had each family set out on its own account, many persons who were killed might have escaped. A little below the mouth of Sacred Heart Creek, the second day after the outbreak, Antoine Frenier, the half-breed scout, who had been sent to reconnoiter about the Yellow Medicine Agency, found twenty-seven dead and mangled bodies near a cabin in which were seven little children, the oldest about eight years. When the outbreak was over it was found that the cabin had been burned and in the ashes were the charred bones of the seven little innocents. Some of the Lake Shetek settlers sought to escape in company, but nearly all of them were killed or captured, very many other instances of the sort could be given.

Settlers were killed from Breckenridge to near the Iowa line in Jackson County. From near Sioux Falls, in Dakota, to Swan Lake, in Nicollet County, and to Paynesville, in Stearns County, the field of massacre extended. The scene of alarm extended much farther. Citizens on the outskirts of St. Paul imagined that Indian attacks might be made upon them, and moved down into the business part of the town then of 10,000 inhabitants. From some of the counties in the southern part of the State settlers fled as far eastward as into Wisconsin, not satisfied that they were safe until they had put the Mississippi between their timid selves and the Indians 300 miles away.

WHITE FORCES DISPATCHED.

Tidings of the great uprising reached Governor Ramsey, at St. Paul, on Tuesday, August 19. He acted promptly and with great intelligence. He called upon the people for volunteers to put down the great red rising, and he selected ex-Governor

H. H. Sibley, then living at Mendota to lead and command them, giving him the rank of colonel in the State militia. Fort Snelling was being utilized as a rendezvous for the Minnesota Volunteers which, under President Lincoln's call for "300,000 more," were rapidly being organized into regiments. The nucleus of the Sixth, Seventh, Eighth, Ninth, and Tenth Regiments of Infantry were already in the fort, and recruits were coming in every day. The men were being armed with indifferent muskets, of antiquated patterns, the most of which, as condemned stock, had been purchased from the Belgium and Austrian Governments and the ammunition accompanying them was not very serviceable.

On the twentieth Colonel Sibley started up the valley of the Minnesota with four companies of the Sixth Regiment and arrived at St. Peter on Friday, August 22. Captain A. D. Nelson of the regular army who came to Minnesota with Captain John Pope, in 1849, and for some time had been acting as mustering officer at Fort Snelling, had been commissioned Colonel of the Sixth Regiment, and the railroad builder, Colonel Crooks, had been commissioned Lieutenant Colonel of the Seventh. On being ordered to report with his force to Colonel Sibley for duty, Colonel Nelson raised the silly and discreditable point that custom would not warrant an officer of the regular army of his then rank in reporting for duty to a colonel of militia such as Sibley was. Being plainly told to either report to Sibley or get out of the service, the punctilious Nelson resigned and Colonel William Crooks, a West Pointer, who said that to protect the people of Minnesota from the Indians he would willingly "serve under a hod-carrier with the rank of corporal," was appointed Colonel of the Sixth.

Meanwhile the people of the southern and southeastern portions of the State were organizing into military companies—arming themselves, for the most part—and were hastening to the western frontier, the principal scene of the trouble. On the twenty-fourth Sibley's force at St. Peter was increased by 200 mounted men under Major William J. Cullen, formerly Superintendent of Indian Affairs, and the organization was called

the Cullen Guards. The same day a hundred more armed and mounted men and several smaller organizations reported, and all of these citizen volunteers were temporarily organized into a regiment of so-called "Mounted Rangers," with Samuel McPhail as Colonel; W. J. Cullen, Lieutenant Colonel and Joseph R. Brown, Major. Also on the twenty-fourth the remaining six companies of the Sixth Regiment came up, making the full complement of that regiment. Colonel Sibley then had about 1,500 men.

There were certain embarrassing circumstances in the way of a speedy and successful encounter with the Indians. The cartridges supplied to the Sixth Regiment would not fit the muskets; the horses of the mounted men were not cavalry steeds and typical battle horses, but for the most part were brood mares, and work animals, which had never been "to war," and would become panic stricken at the near-by discharge of a cannon or platoon of musketry; the men, too, were inexperienced, undisciplined, and poorly armed. They had to cope with the best fighting Indians in the West—brave and desperate but wary, wily, and treacherous. But the Indians were no braver than the white men, and really possessed less courage. The whites would fight in the open and against odds. The Indian idea was that there was nothing but folly in attacking a superior force, and that to fight in the open ground without taking cover and shelter and keeping entirely hidden from the enemy was equally foolish. The main military principal to be observed was to inflict the greatest possible injury on the enemy and receive the least possible damage from him.

Saturday, August 23, Colonel Sibley sent Captain E. St. Julien Cox's company from St. Peter to the relief of New Ulm, but the company did not reach the bullet-riddled and fire-blackened town until the following morning, the day after the last battle. While Cox was marching Flandrau was fighting. On Monday, the twenty-fifth, another attachment, composed of Captain Joseph Anderson's company of mounted men from the Cullen Guards, and twenty infantry soldiers in wagons, was dispatched to New Ulm, and reached the place the following day,

only to find the town deserted. The evacuation had taken place the previous day.

Colonel Sibley had been working day and night to put his command into condition to advance to the relief of Fort Ridgely and to the deliverance of the Minnesota Valley now in the possession of the hordes of savages that had made it a great slaughter field. There was much to be done and but little time to do it in. Certain unwise and inconsiderate people were clamoring at the delay in moving against the Indians, seemingly not knowing or caring whether Sibley's men had anything with which to fight save their naked hands or anything to eat save what they had put in their pockets when they left their homes. Only that the little steamboat, the Favorite was able to and did run swiftly between St. Paul and St. Peter the little army would not have been able to move until after September 1. As it was, however, Colonel Sibley moved from St. Peter August 26, and the next morning Captain Anson Northup's mounted company, of Colonel McPhail's regiment rode into Fort Ridgely, and the next day Colonel Sibley's entire force was in also.

Upon reaching the fort, Colonel Sibley caused intrenchments to be thrown up, cannon properly placed and a strong guard placed. A day or two later he sent back the citizen wagon train, composed altogether of common farm wagons, which had been largely impressed or forced into service, and which had conveyed the provisions and other supplies of the army from St. Peter to Ridgely. With and in these wagons too, he caused to be carried away the refugees that had been crowding the fort since the beginning of the outbreak.

The fort having been reached, a number of the citizen volunteers concluded that they had done enough and straightway set out for their homes, disregarding all appeals to remain until at least one fight with the Indians. All of the Cullen Guards but Captain Joe Anderson's company, largely from St. Paul turned back, Captain Anderson said that it would be a shame to go home without having smelled powder and his men agreed with him. The citizens had not been sworn into service, and nobody had any authority to force them to remain. Perhaps half of the

"Mounted Rangers" remained. Then in a day or so they were reenforced by Captain J. R. Sterrett's company of forty-seven men who had ridden all the way from Lake City in four days. September 1, Lieutenant Colonel Marshall, who had accompanied McPhail's men into the fort, went out, met and led in two companies, A and B, of the Seventh Regiment. The previous day, as elsewhere noted Colonel Sibley had sent out the Birch Coulie expedition under Major Brown, whom he had assigned to his staff.

SIBLEY MOVES AGAINST THE INDIANS.

After the affair at Birch Coulie it was evident that the Indians were to be considered seriously. They seemed to be ready for any sort of fighting wherein they could have the advantage and to have an intelligent view of the situation. The whites could only conjecture where the Indians were and what were their plans. Some time must therefore be spent in preparation and investigation. Scouts were sent out and on one occasion news was received directly from the Indian camp by the appearance at Fort Ridgely of old Simon Anahwangmanne and his boy, Thomas Ka-tah-te, who brought with them a Mrs. Neumann and her two children from among the white prisoners being held at the Yellow Medicine.

Upon leaving the battlefield of Birch Coulie Colonel Sibley had left in a split stick stuck up conspicuously a piece of paper on which the following was written:

> If Little Crow has any proposition to make to me let him send a half-breed to me and he shall be protected in and out of my camp. H. H. Sibley, Col. Comg. Mil. Expn.

When he wrote the note Sibley believed that Little Crow had been present and directed affairs at Birch Coulie. The truth was that as has been stated, Little Crow was not present at the battle, but at the time was over in the Big Woods country, forty or fifty miles away. The Indian scouts soon found the note and after Little Crow's return to Yellow Medicine it was delivered to him and read by his secretary, Joe Campbell, the

same who kept the itinerary of the expedition which Little Crow led against the Inkpadoota band, in 1857. At his dictation Campbell prepared the following answer in his imperfect English, for, no matter how well educated the average half blood may be he cannot become very proficient in English spelling and composition. Turning Little Crow's Dakotah into the white man's language, Campbell wrote:

Yellow Medicine, Sept. 7, 1862.

Dear Sir—For what reason we have commenced this war I will tell you, it is on account of Maj. Gilbrait we made a treaty with the Government a big for what little we do get and then cant get it till our children was dieing with hunger—it is with the traders that commence Mr A J Myrick told the Indians that they would eat grass or their own dung. Then Mr Forbes told the lower Sioux that were not men then Robert he was working with his friends how to defraud us of our money, if the young braves have push the white men I have done this myself. So I want you to let the Governor Ramsey know this. I have great many prisoner women and children it aint all our fault the winnebagos was in the engagement, two of them was killed I want you to give me answer by the barer. All at present. Yours

his

truly, Friend Little X Crow

mark

per A. J. Campbell

Gov. H. H. Sibley, Esqr Fort Ridgely.

The message was delivered to Colonel Sibley at Fort Ridgely by Thomas Robinson and Thomas A. Robertson, two intelligent young half bloods, who drove all the way from Yellow Medicine in a buggy. They bore back to Little Crow Colonel Sibley's answer, as follows:

Little Crow—You have murdered many of our people without any sufficient cause. Return me the prisoners under a flag of truce, and I will talk with you then like a man. H. H. Sibley, Col. Comg. Expn.

September 12, the same messengers who had brought the first letter from Little Crow came again in their buggy with the following answer to the foregoing:

Red Iron Village or May, awaken.

To the Hon. H. H. Sibley—We have in Mawakanton band One Hundred and fifty five presoners—not includ the Sisiton & Warpeton pres-

oners, then we are waiting for the Sisiton what we are going to do with the prisoners they are coming down. they are at Lake quiparle now. The words that il to the government il want to here from him also, and I want to know from you as a friend what way that il can make peace for my people—in regard to prisoners they fair with our children or our self jist as well as us. Your truly friend, Little Crow.

per A. J. Campbell.

Sibley answered:

Headquarters Military Expedition,
September 12, 1862.

To Little Crow, Sioux Chief—I have received your letter to-day. You have not done as I wished in giving up to me the prisoners taken by your people. It would be better for you to do so. I told you I had sent your former letter to Governor Ramsey, but have not had time to receive a reply. You have allowed your young men to commit nine murders since you wrote your first letter. This is not the way to make peace. H. H. Sibley, Col. Comdg. Mil. Expedition.

With Little Crow's letter Tom Robertson brought secretly a letter to Sibley from Wabasha and Taopee, and this was the beginning of negotiations with the friendly Indians.

At last having prepared himself as well as possible, but with his force still imperfectly equipped and impaired, Coloney Sibley set out against the Indians from Fort Ridgely September 18. He crossed the Minnesota and advanced on the south side of the river, through the Indian reservation, over the road constructed by Agent Galbraith the previous year. Upon first reaching Ridgely, the colonel had intended moving against the enemy along the north side of the river, expecting not to cross until beyond the Yellow Medicine. The idea was to cut off the Indians from a line of retreat into the wide prairies to the northwest in Dakota, and either overwhelm them in battle or drive them into Southeastern Dakota where they could be surrounded and captured.

Birch Coulie changed the plans. Colonel Sibley realized that the Indians were too wary to fall into his traps. After consultation with his officers, the route on the south side of the Minnesota was chosen by the colonel as the one to be pursued in the advance against the Indians. The chief reason for the selection was that none of the streams on the north side—Beaver Creek, Hawk Creek, the Chippewa, etc.—were bridged,

while every considerable stream on the southern route through the Indian reservation had been substantially bridged by Agent Galbraith and all the bridges were standing. The southern road too was the better and led more directly against the main Indian position.

On the previous thirteenth of July the Third Minnesota Infantry had been deceived into surrendering to the Confederates under the accomplished but cunning General N. B. Forrest. The men were paroled not to serve against the Confederacy until exchanged, and to await that event were sent to Benton Barracks at St. Louis. When the Sioux outbreak occurred Governor Ramsey secured the consent of the military authorities that the paroled men be sent to Minnesota to fight Indians, which could be done under their paroles, which forbade their fighting, only the Confederates. The men (their officers being in Southern prisons) arrived in St. Paul September 4. Major A. E. Welch, of the First Regiment, was placed in command and they were hurried to the front in the Big Woods country, reaching Glencoe September 6. When he was organizing his expedition, Colonel Sibley requested the Third Regiment men to join it, and they did so, reaching Ridgely September 6.

Colonel Sibley's force consisted of the Sixth Regiment, Colonel William Crooks; five companies of the Seventh Regiment under Lieutenant Colonel W. R. Marshall; about 300 men of the Third Regiment under Major Welch; the company of Renville Rangers, under Lieutenant James Gorman; Captain J. R. Sterrett's company of about thirty-five mounted men, and a light battery of artillery commanded by Captain Mark Hendricks.

The command was lamentably deficient in cavalry or mounted men. Only the single little company mentioned, mounted on the horses which had been ridden from Wabasha County, was present to lead the advance, to scout the country, and to perform other necessary service. A few other mounted men, including the ever-faithful John Other Day were available, and the country in advance and on the flanks was carefully examined well to the front as the expeditions advanced. Indians were in sight

during all of the march. The chiefs back at the Yellow Medicine had sent out their scouts to watch the movements of the troops, and Chief Big Eagle says they sent back reports almost every hour. So sly and adroit were the Indians couriers that on one occasion they captured and ran off with Other Day's pony when he was examining a house not a hundred yards away.

FRIENDLY INDIANS RENDER VALUABLE SERVICES.

Meanwhile the Indians who had been opposed to the war from the first or had become tired of it had caused great dissensions among the several bands. The two Upper bands, the Sissetons and Wahpatons, had not been notified that their brethren of the Lower bands would commence hostilities against the whites. A large number of the Sissetons under Standing Buffalo were far out on the Dakota prairies when the outbreak occurred and the massacres began, they heard the news with astonishment and sorrow. A large majority of Red Iron's band of Wahpatons had taken no part in the war. True some of them—the Lower Indians declared a great many, but the Wahpatons said only a few—had gone into the trouble as soon as they heard of it and had seized the Yellow Medicine Agency, murdered whites on the Upper Minnesota, carried away prisoners and many had participated in the battles at New Ulm, Fort Ridgely and Birch Coulie. The bands of the White Lodge, Young Sleepy Eye and Lean Bear had massacred the settlers at Lake Shetek and in Jackson County, and carried away some women and children into Dakota.

The Upper Indians had caused the troubles at Yellow Medicine only a few days before the outbreak and were still in bad humor against the whites yet did not want to murder them or engage in war against them. Red Iron had a grudge of long standing against them, from 1852, when Governor Ramsey, had put irons upon him and thrown him into prison, but when the outbreak came Red Iron was loyal to the whites. When Little Crow and his army came up above the Yellow Medicine, Red Iron put his warriors into battle line and threatened to fire upon the hostiles if they dared to come upon

his land. In a few days Standing Buffalo and his band returned and the chief announced that he would take no part in the war.

Certain friendly Indians were openly opposed to further hostilities and Paul Maz-ah Koo-te-manne boldly invaded Little Crow's camp and in fiery speeches demanded that the white prisoners be at once released and turned over to him that he might lead them to Fort Ridgely. Other "friendlies" as they came to be called, aided him and numerous councils were held and the question of releasing the prisoners earnestly and sometimes passionately discussed. The concensus of opinion was however, largely in favor of holding the prisoners to the last "let them share our fate," said the speakers. The propositions was seriously advanced to place the unfortunate captives in front of the Indians when the whites came up, "and then let them kill their own people first."

Lorenzo Lawrence, or To-wan-eta-ton and Simon Anahwangmanne, two Christian full blood Indians demonstrated their friendship by stealing away with white women and children, and at great peril escorting them to Ridgely. Gabriel Renville, Joseph LaFramboise, Tom Robertson, and others protected prisoners from abuse and mistreatment. At one time there was almost certain prospect that there would be a desperate battle between Little Crow's forces and the friendly Upper Indians, and the conflict was averted only by the withdrawal of Little Crow and the other hostiles from the immediate presence of the "friendlies."

Fuller and authentic accounts of the dissensions among the Indians and of the conduct of the friendlies are given by Chief Gabrial Renville in Vol. X of the Historical Society, Collections; by Samuel J. Brown, son of Joseph R. Brown and who with his mother and sisters, was a prisoner among the Indians in 1862; by Heard's and Bryant's Histories, and by Mrs. McConkey's "Dakota War Whoop."

Chapter XXVII.

BATTLE OF WOOD LAKE.

ON the evening of September 22 Colonel Sibley's force arrived and went into camp at Lone Tree Lake—now called Battle Lake, in the eastern part of Yellow Medicine County—two miles east of the Yellow Medicine River, two and a half south of the Yellow Medicine Agency, and three miles northeast of Wood Lake. The Indians name for Lone Tree Lake was, "the lake where the man who ties his moccasins with strings made of basswood bark has his tepee and planting place." It was and still is, a pretty little body of water of perhaps two acres in extent, with an outlet, in the form of a large ravine, flowing north, into the Yellow Medicine.

The camp was made on the east side of the lake, which was, so to say, between the soldiers and the Indians. The water was therefore not only a beverage but a bastion and breastwork. An incomplete line of shallow rifle pits was dug to protect the camp. As the expedition penetrated farther into the Indian country, Colonel Sibley for some reason, never satisfactorily explained, had relaxed his precautions against sudden attack. Instead of sending his scouts and advance guard a mile and more to the front he kept them only about half a mile ahead of the main column. The pickets were also placed near the camp. At Lone Tree Lake there was no advance camp, and no pickets proper were put out. The only sentinel to watch and give warning were the camp guards, and they were not half a mile distant from the camp and Sibley's headquarters. The colonel at the time had no idea where the Indians were, when they were only

about three miles away, all ready and anxious for battle. He intended to cross the Yellow Medicine, the following morning and go into camp, and before proceeding farther await the arrival of Company C, under Captain Henry C. Rogers, which was hurrying forward from below.

That night the Indians held a great council in their camp a mile west of the Yellow Medicine. Sibley had gone into camp three miles away with no pickets well to the front. The scouts reported that they had been within half a mile of the tents without being seen and that it would be an easy matter to surround the camp in the darkness and attack it that night, or at daybreak next morning. Little Crow was anxious for an immediate attack. He said that if the whites were fallen upon in the darkness, with rapid firing and piercing war-whoops, they would be so surprised and demoralized that they would make but the feeblest resistance, and so would be easily overcome and all, or nearly all, of them killed. Chief Mankato supported Little Crow's proposition enthusiastically.

But at this time nearly all of the Upper Indians, even including many friendlies were with the army of Little Crow. Gabriel Renville and other prominent friends of the whites were present. They had gone out armed and equipped and, with the exception of Renville, had declared they would fight. As subsequently declared, and as the survivors still insist, the leading men among the Upper Indian wing did not accompany Little Crow in good faith, but really went out to distract the councils of the hostiles and to help the whites, even if they had to fight for them. These leading men afterwards asserted and the survivors yet insist, that but for their's opposition to Little Crow's plan for a night attack, it would have been carried out. They avowed that they said to Little Crow, Mankato, Rattling Runner, and the other hostiles, who wanted to rush Sibley's camp and kill the soldiers in their tents, that if they were as brave as they pretended to be, and confident of victory under all circumstances, they would boldly offer battle in daylight and not sneak up in the dark like wolves and cowards. It is yet asserted that the arguments of these leading men, who were dealing treacherously to-

ward their tribesmen and really meant to betray them to their enemies, were effective in causing the abandonment of the plan of a night attack to an attack by ambuscade the next morning.

The new plan was to station a strong force in the timber and brush along the Yellow Medicine where the road over which the whites would pass crossed that stream, and then from a point a mile east of this force extend a line of warriors a mile in length parallel with the road so that the extreme eastern end of the line should be in the rear of Sibley's force hidden in the ravine constituting the outlet of Lone Tree Lake. When Sibley's force had been strung out on the line of march and the head of the column had penetrated well into the Yellow Medicine timber, the force stationed there would begin a sudden attack, under cover at first and then advancing. The sound of the firing would be a signal to the long line of warriors lying in the grass to get ready. The advance of the whites would be badly broken and driven back; the soldiers in the rear would hurry to its assistance, then the long line of warriors would spring up and open fire on the train and rear guard, a force of mounted warriors would come dashing up from the south, and Sibley's little army would be wiped out.

This plan really might have succeeded but for a singular accident which befell it and which could not be foreseen. At nearly seven on the morning of September 23, when Sibley and his men were at breakfast a party of the Third Regiment, with two wagons, started for the potato patches of the people that had lived about the Yellow Medicine Agency, two miles to the northward. They had learned that there were plenty of the nice rich tubers about the Agency to be had for the digging and they promised to return to camp that night with two wagon loads for the benefit of their comrades. The men of the Third Regiment were still chagrined and indignant at having been surrendered by their officers to the Confederates at Murfreesboro and were impatient at any attempt to control them or to subject them to discipline beyond their own wills. The party of foragers left camp without permission or saying "by your leave" to anybody.

At this time from the crest of a high mound, half a mile or more over the prairie to the westward, Little Crow, Big Eagle, and other chiefs were watching the white men's camp. They saw the two foraging wagons start across the prairie to the northward, and they realized that these vehicles would soon come upon the Indians lying in the grass and waiting for the signal to fire. To their consternation and great disappointment, in an instant they saw smoke puffs in front of the wagons, knew that their warriors had been compelled to fire, and that their plans would miscarry. "Ee! Ee! Ee!" exclaimed Little Crow, "This is too bad." Then he left the mound, sought his pony, and rode toward the Yellow Medicine to hurry forward his ambushed warriors there to the help of their tribesmen to the eastward. He had not gone far when he turned back and sought to direct the battle from the back of his pony.

The fire of the Indians in the grass mortally wounded DeGrove Kimball, a private of the Third Regiment. The other foragers jumped from the wagons and returned the fire and then fell back to camp. The firing was heard in camp and the soldiers seized their guns and began to form for fight. Without orders or organization, although Major Welch led them, the men of the Third Regiment grabbed their pieces and ran out to the rescue of their comrades, established a firing line, and the battle was on.

The Sixth Regiment under Major Robert N. McLaren, and the companies of the Seventh Regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Marshall, were formed in due time and sent forward. Fearing that the men of the Third Regiment, were too far out. and would be cut off by the Indians. Colonel Sibley ordered them back, but the order had to be repeated before they would obey it, and they fought well on the retreat. Major Welch was seriously wounded and the command of the men of the Third was given to Lieutenant R. C. Olin, a very gallant young officer. The men were more than willing to fight and would have done so under their sergeants and corporals. Soon after they had retired under orders. they were again sent forward with the Renville Rangers. and these two organizations did the greater

part of the firing in the battle, were more exposed, and had more men killed than the other commands in the aggregate.

The battery, under Captain Mark Hendricks, did excellent service and contributed very largely to the victory. It was run out early in the fight, and was well served. The Indians were too far away to be reached with canister, but solid shot and shell were sent among them with good effect. Captain Hendricks put two charges of canister into the ravine in the rear and helped to clear it of the savages.

The force of savages in the ravine near the rear of the camp, who were waiting to attack the rear guard and the train when Sibley's force should be well strung out, was dislodged only after a protracted effort and stubborn fighting. They did not number more than a hundred warriors, but it required the combined action of the Third, Sixth and Seventh Regiments, the Renville Rangers, and one of Hendrick's cannons to drive them out and away. This force, too, sustained a greater loss in killed than all of the other Indian organizations together. It was composed entirely of Upper Indians many of whom on this occasion shot at white men for the first time in their lives.

The warriors lying in the grass along the road took no part in the first movements of the fight; they were waiting for the signal. Finally a mounted Indian, who may have been a head soldier, rode half way down the line, waved a blanket and called out loudly. Then the warriors in the grass arose and ran towards the whites, firing as they came. They were soon checked, however, by the musketry fire and the balls of Hendrick's battery, and fell back some distance. Chief Mankato and others rallied them and again they advanced only to be driven back. About this time the warriors in the ravine to the rear were routed, and the entire Indian force fled swiftly away and did not stop until they were beyond gun shot and safe within the shelter of the Yellow Medicine. Mankato was conspicuous in this fight as he had been at Fort Ridgely and Birch Coulie. When he was rallying his men on their last advance, and urging them forward by voice and example, a cannon ball came bounding towards him. Some of his men called: "Look! Look!" but with a contempt-

uous and obscene expression he refused to dodge and the ball broke his back without making an open wound and he fell and died in a few seconds. His warriors bore back his body and buried it in the bluff bank of the Yellow Medicine where the whites never found it.

The battle was now over. And with the close of the battle ended all organized effort on the part of the Indians against the whites, and the long held occupation of Minnesota by the Sioux. Thereafter they were to exist within the State only as individuals and by the sufferance and consent of their conquerors. From the battlefield, chagrined, alarmed, and dispirited Little Crow and his forces retreated to their camps on the south side of the Minnesota, some miles to the rear, taking with them their comrades that had been shot in the battle but not mortally wounded. From these camps they had set out the previous day in glowing spirits and high hopes, confident of an easy and glorious victory, and promising to return with the scalps of all of the white leaders for the warriors to dance about and plenty of pork, flour, and blankets for everybody.

The loss of the whites in the battle of Wood Lake was seven men killed and mortally wounded; five in the Third Regiment, one in the Sixth, and one in the Renville Rangers; the wounded numbered thirty-four—twenty-seven in the Third Regiment, three in the Sixth, three in the Seventh, and one in the Rangers. Major Welch of the Third, and Captain H. B. Wilson, of the Sixth, were the only officers wounded.

The Indian loss was sixteen killed on the field, and about fifty wounded, some of the latter dying of their wounds eventually. The killed comprised ten of the Sissetons and Wahpatons, or Upper Indians, and six Medawakantons, or Lower Indians.

The Upper Indians killed were named Iron Shield, Hoof Rattler, Cloud with a Loud Voice, Bad Lightning, Big Frenchman, Twin Son of Sweet Grass, the Law Rubs His Horns as He Walks, Son of White Man That Walks on the Earth, and Shadow.

The Lower Indians, all Medawakantons, killed were Chief Mankato (or Mahkahto), Comes with the Wind, Killing Hawk, Stands On, the Talker, and Iron Shooter. Among the badly wounded of the Lowers was Plenty Lightnings, the father of Dr. Charles A. Eastman, the noted Indian writer.

Mah-zo-manne (Walks on Iron) a friendly Indian bearing a white flag, was mortally wounded by a ball from Hendrick's cannon. John Other Day fought bravely for the whites, and Simon Anahwangmanne, in the heat of battle, walked boldly among his brethren that were fighting and advised them to surrender.

When the Indians returned to their camps some of the most desperate proposed to fight the whites, but soon changed their minds. Chief Wabasha, who for some time had been secretly corresponding with Sibley with a view to making peace, deserted with more than a hundred lodges of his people and established another camp away from Little Crow. In this new camp, which was located on the south bank of the Minnesota, opposite the mouth of the Chippewa River, were the white and mixed blood prisoners soon to be delivered to their friends. Wabasha dug rifle-pits, and was fully prepared and determined to resist an attack, if Little Crow and those still in hostility should come against him as they had threatened.

Sibley had no mounted men beyond Captain Sterritt's twenty-five men, and could not pursue his enemies. But he set forward the next day after the battle and in good time reached Wabasha's camp. The prisoners—numbering ninety-one pure whites and about 150 mixed bloods were soon in the hands of their friends, and as speedily as possible sent down to the white settlements. Sibley named his encampment Camp Release. A fine monument marking the site and commemorating the incident was erected by the State in 1894.

A few days previously Little Crow, with only about 125 followers left the State in great fear and trepidation for Dakota. He was in doubt as to his line of retreat. He desired to go to the Devil's Lake country to pass the winter because the buffalo would be there, and the nearest route to that region lay through

Standing Buffalo's country. But Standing Buffalo and Wahnatah had sent him word that if he and his hostiles came upon the Sisseton reserves they would be shot. So the chief of the old Kaposia band, the foremost Indian in America perhaps, was forced to flee directly to the westward with his few score followers, as a wolf at the head of his pack is chased after a foray upon a sheep fold. After proceeding a hundred miles or so and rounding the country of Standing Buffalo and Wahnatah, Little Crow turned northward and in due time reached Devil's Lake, where he and his band passed the principal part of the following winter.

He visited Winnipeg in January and tried to induce the Canadian authorities to furnish him with a cannon and with men to fight the Americans. In the early spring he sent his brother, the White Spider, with a delegation to the Mandans on the Upper Missouri, asking them to join him in a raid on the whites in Minnesota. But, although they were of the great Sioux or Dakota nation, the Mandans were loyal to the whites. They spurned the proposition in great indignation and ordered White Spider and his delegation to leave the country instantly, and when they refused fired upon them and chased them away.

In June, 1863, Little Crow's band that recognized his authority, including his four wives and his children, did not number more than fifty persons. In the first part of the month he, with fifteen men and one woman, set out for a robbing raid in Minnesota. Two of his warriors were his sons, Wo-wi-nah-pa, or the Appearing One, a boy of sixteen, and his son-in-law, Hinkpa (or Inkpa) or The End. Below the Sheyenne River the party separated, eight warriors and the woman going northward, and Little Crow and seven men proceeding southeasterly into Meeker County. June 29, they murdered the Dustin family, as far east as Wright County. June 11, three of them shot and killed Captain John S. Cady, of the Eighth Regiment, near Lake Elizabeth, in Kandiyohi County. July 1, Hinkpa, the chief's son-in-law, killed James McGannon, a settler, between Kingston and Fairview, in Meeker, stripped the body, and gave the coat to his father-in-law. Two days later, or in the evening of July

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EXECUTION OF THIRTY-EIGHT INDIANS AT MANKATO.

3, in a berry patch, west of Hutchinson, Little Crow was shot and killed by a settler of the country, named Nathan Lamson. In return the chief shot and wounded Lamson in the shoulder. At the time Little Crow, wearing McGannon's coat, was with his son, the Appearing One, and the two were picking strawberries when Lamson and his son, Chauncey Lamson, who were hunting horses, came upon them. The two fathers and young Lamson fired. The Appearing One gave his gun to his father, who wounded Lamson with the shot from it.

The body of Little Crow was taken to Hutchinson and treated with great indignity. The head was cut off and almost literally skinned, the skin tanned, the bones of one forearm badly united after a bullet wound taken, the skull carried off, and the rest of the carcass thrown into a pit of rotting beef entrails. The skull, scalp and arm bones are in possession of the Historical Society. The Appearing One made his way alone to Devil's Lake, where he was captured by the Sibley expedition a month after his father's death.

As soon as Colonel Sibley had the Indians well in his hands he organized a militia commission for the trial of those who had taken part in the great uprising. This commission was in session several weeks, both at Yellow Medicine and the Lower Agency. It finally sentenced 303 to death and eighteen to imprisonment. President Lincoln commuted the death sentences of 264 to imprisonment, and permitted the execution of thirty-nine, one of these, old Tah-tay me-mah, or Round Wind, the old time friend of the Ponds and other early missionaries, proved an alibi at the last moment and was released. The others were executed by hanging at Mankato, December 26 following. Those whose sentences were committed to imprisonment were taken to the Government prisons at Rock Island, Illinois, and Davenport, Iowa, where they served about four years and were then sent to the new Sioux reserve at Fort Thompson, on the Missouri, at the mouth of Crow Creek, in Southeastern Dakota. Their women and children had for some months been in camp at Fort Snelling.

Chapter XXVIII.

INDIAN EXPEDITIONS.

EXPEDITION OF 1863.

AFTER the evacuation of New Ulm, the most exposed positions extending from that point to the western and southwestern frontier of the State were occupied by different companies of the State militia and citizen soldiers, under the command of Judge Charles E. Flandrau, who had been appointed by Governor Ramsey a colonel, and placed in command of the Blue Earth country. The Federal Government authorities in September, 1862, ordered Major General John Pope, to Minnesota to conduct the Indian War. By nature of his high rank, he had command of all operations, though all imminent danger to the frontier had been overcome by the State and its citizens before his arrival. Headquarters were established at St. Paul, and the citizen troops under Colonel Flandrau, being desirous of returning to their homes, the Twenty-fifth Wisconsin Infantry, a newly mustered in regiment, was ordered to relieve them. Colonel Flandrau being succeeded by Colonel M. Montgomery of that regiment.

On September 29, 1862, Colonel Sibley was promoted for his judicious fight at Wood Lake, a brigadier general, although his commission was not issued until March 26, 1864.

As before stated, the remnant of Little Crow's followers, who had been reenforced by large bodies of the Upper Sioux, were rendezvoused at Devil's Lake, in Dakota Territory. An expedition against them was devised by General Pope, to be com-

manded by General Sibley; it was to assemble near the mouth of the Red Wood River, and on June 7, 1863, General Sibley arrived at the point of departure. The rendezvous was named in honor of the commanding general Camp Pope. The force accompanying the expedition was as follows: One company of Pioneers under Captain Chase; ten companies of the Sixth Regiment under Colonel Crooks; eight companies of the Tenth Regiment under Colonel Baker; nine companies of the Seventh Regiment under Lieutenant Colonel Marshall; eight pieces of artillery under Captain Jones; nine companies of Minnesota Mounted Rangers under Colonel McPhail; seventy-five Indian scouts under Major Brown, making in all 3,052 infantry, 800 cavalry, 148 artillery men. The command, on account of the nature of the country, to be traversed, had to depend upon its own supply train, therefore, it was accompanied by 225 six-mule wagons.

The column moved from Camp Pope, June 16, 1863; the weather being intensely hot, and the country over which the army had to march being wild and uninhabited. The Indians at first on learning of the advance of the army retreated towards the British boundary, but subsequently changed their movements in the direction of the Missouri River, hoping no doubt they would be reenforced by Sioux inhabiting the country west of that river.

General Sibley's command reached the Big Bend of the Sheyenne River July 4, and on the twentieth he established Camp Atchinson, fifty miles southeast of Devil's Lake. Here he made a permanent camp, leaving the sick and broken down men, a large portion of his ponderous train, and a sufficient guard to protect them. Issuing twenty-five days' rations he started with 1463 infantry, 520 cavalry, 100 pioneers and artillery for the Missouri River. Two days later Sibley's army crossed the James River, forty-eight miles west of Camp Atchinson, and on the twenty-fourth they reached Big Mound, beyond the second ridge of the Missouri Coteau. Here the scouts reported that the Indians were gathered in large bodies, with Red Plume and Standing Buffalo among them.

BATTLE OF BIG MOUND.

General Sibley on receipt of the information from the scouts, and anticipating an attack coralled his train, and threw up earthworks for the protection of the army. The Indians soon appeared in considerable numbers. Dr. Josiah S. Weiser, surgeon of the First Regiment of Mounted Rangers, who had resided at Shakopee, thinking he recognized some old acquaintances amongst the Indians, approached them and was immediately shot dead. Lieutenant Ambrose Freeman of Company D of the same regiment being some distance from the camp was also killed.

The battle opened at 3 P. M. in the midst of a terrific thunderstorm. An advance was made by the First Battalion of Cavalry under Colonel McPhail supported by two companies of the Seventh Regiment to divide the Indians. The Sixth Regiment, under Colonel Crooks, with a part of the Seventh deployed on right of the camp, while two companies under Lieutenant Colonel Averill deployed on the left. Five companies of the Seventh commanded by Colonel Marshall advanced up a ravine; a part of the Tenth Regiment, under Colonel Baker, was held in reserve to guard the camp. General Sibley, supported by Company B Tenth Regiment, with a six pounder, occupied an eminence that commanded the head of a ravine where a large body of Indians were congregated.

A general advance being ordered, the Indians retreated toward their camp some five miles to the southward; a general panic then took place; the Indians' camp was abandoned, and the whole throng, men, women and children, fled before the advancing forces. They were closely followed by Colonel McPhail's command, supported by the Seventh and part of the Tenth Regiments, and Lieutenant John C. Whipple's section of the Third Battery of Light Artillery. The Indians were pursued by the cavalry about fifteen miles, and by the infantry ten miles beyond the original point of engagement. An order for those in pursuit to bivouac where night overtook them was either wrongly de-

livered or misunderstood, and the pursuing column returned to the main army, reaching it the next morning, just about the time of starting. This misinterpretation of orders gave the Indians at least two days advantage, and enabled them to put a wide gap between them and their pursuers. Besides the two officers previously mentioned, the whites lost in the engagement only one private, who was killed by lightning. The Indians' loss besides their camp equipment was eighty killed and wounded.

BATTLE OF DEAD BUFFALO LAKE.

July 26, the command again moved forward, the Indians' abandoned camp was passed, and at noon the scouts reported large bodies of them in sight. A skirmish line, supported by Captain Chase and his Pioneers, and Whipple's section of six pounders, under command of Colonel Crooks, was thrown out. The savages attempted a flank movement on the left, which was checked by Company D of the First Regiment of Mounted Rangers. Another attack was repulsed by Lieutenant Colonel Averill with two companies of the Sixth Regiment assisted by Company D of the Rangers. A running fight was kept up until about three in the afternoon, when the Indians made an attempt to stampede the horses and mules of the whites, but this was promptly met and defeated by Companies H and K of the Rangers, and six companies of the Sixth Regiment under Major McLaren, who were thrown out in an extended line on the left, thus protecting the army's flank from the enemy. The Indians completely failed at all points, and having suffered serious losses in killed and wounded, retired from the field.

BATTLE OF STONY LAKE.

The Indians were again seen on July 28 in immense numbers endeavoring to encircle the troops. Colonel Baker was directed to deploy two companies of his regiment as skirmishers, and the rest of his command was immediately placed in line with Colonel Crooks and the Sixth Regiment on the right, and Colonel Mar-

shall with the Seventh Regiment and McPhail's Cavalry on the left. The Indians attempted to break our lines, but were repulsed at all points. The Tenth Regiment being in advance bore the brunt of the fight, the assault being furious and determined. The Artillery were actively engaged and the Indians finally retreated, fleeing in a panic towards the Missouri River. They were hotly pursued. Sibley's command crossing Apple Creek, a few miles from the present site of Bismarck, North Dakota, July 29 and struck the Missouri River about four miles above Burnt Boat Island. The Indians had succeeded in crossing the Missouri, their supplies and camp epuipage being visible on the bluffs on the opposite side, while wagons, and quantities of supplies and materials, which they failed to remove, were destroyed by the whites. Here Lieutenant Beever of General Sibley's staff, and Nicholas Miller, a private of Company K, Sixth Regiment, were ambuscaded by the Indians and killed.

The Indians having retired across the Missouri River, and General Sully's Army, which rendezvoused at Sioux City, and consisted of the Second Nebraska Cavalry; two companies of the Seventh Iowa Cavalry; a battalion of the Sixth Iowa Cavalry and two companies of Infantry to serve as guard to the supplies having failed to make connections with General Sibley's command, the latter prepared to march homeward. The low state of the water in the Missouri River was the cause of the non-appearance of Sully's command; they were 160 miles distant from the meeting point down the river; the nicely laid plan to trap the savages failed because one side of the trap was left open.

Sibley's Army broke camp at 5:30 A. M., August 1, 1863, and the march home was weary and uneventful. The troops had marched nearly 1,200 miles; fought three well contested battles, and drove between 8,000 and 10,000 Indians to the west side of the Missouri River. The command lost seven killed and three wounded, and had inflicted upon the Indians such a serious loss that they never again returned to their old haunts in Minnesota.

For his meritorious services in the campaign General Sibley was appointed a brevet major general November 29, 1865,

which appointment was duly approved by the Senate, and he was commissioned April 7, 1866.

EXPEDITION OF 1864.

The Federal Government having concluded not to let the Indian question rest on the results of the campaign of 1863—rightly supposing they might construe their escape from General Sibley into a victory, decided to send out another expedition in 1864 to pursue and attack the savages beyond the Missouri River. General Sully was again to proceed up the Missouri and meet the force from Minnesota where they were to combine and march westward. The expedition was to consist of two brigades under the command of General Sully. To the First Brigade, Brackett's Battalion of Cavalry was attached, the balance of troops consisting of Iowa and Kansas infantry and cavalry regiments. The Second Brigade embraced the Eighth Regiment of Minnesota Volunteers mounted on ponies under Colonel Thomas; the Second Minnesota Cavalry under Colonel McLaren and the Third Minnesota Battery under Captain Jones.

The Second Brigade left Fort Snelling June 1, 1864, and was accompanied as far as Fort Ridgely by General Sibley and staff, and was under the command of Colonel Thomas. The James River was reached June 21, the column's movements being watched by flying parties of Indians. General Sully's command was met on the Missouri River; a crossing was made, and the combined forces immediately marched toward the Cannon Ball River, where 1,800 lodges of Indians were reported to be camped. The Indians fled at the approach of the troops, and on the last of July the pursuing army encamped on Heart River, where a camp was formed, and teams and tents left behind. Indians were reported to be encamped eighty miles northward, and on the second of August they were found in large numbers on the Big Knife in the Bad Lands. They were immediately attacked, and a very spirited engagement ensued in which the savages were badly beaten, and suffered several losses. The place where the battle was fought was called by the Indians "Ta-ka-ho-ku-tay" or

"The bluff where the man shot the deer." The following day the command moved west through the Bad Lands, and on emerging from the rugged country was again attacked by the Indians. The fight lasted two days and nights, when the Indians retired in haste. General Sully then moved to the west side of the Yellowstone River, where two boats awaited the command, and the homeward march was commenced. The Minnesota Brigade reached Fort Wadsworth September 27, where six companies of the Second Cavalry were left to garrison the fort; the balance of the command reaching Fort Snelling October 12.

In June, 1865, another expedition left Minnesota for the West, and went as far as Devil's Lake, Dakota Territory. The first, second and fourth sections of the Third Minnesota Battery, formed part of the command. Again in January, 1866, another expedition started from Fort Abercrombie, and included, amongst its troops, the first section of the Third Minnesota Battery and Brackett's Battalion of Cavalry.

BATTLE OF KILLDEER MOUNTAIN.

Sully's command, after leaving the Heart River the afternoon of July 28, found one hundred and ten bands of Sioux in an extensive camp located on Knife River. The Indians had congregated this great force for the purpose of clearing the country of the white soldiers. The camp was discovered by the scouts when the command was about three miles away. A skirmish line was formed by dismounting the men, the cavalry being held in reserve to cover the flanks of the columns and the artillery was placed in supporting distance of the line of battle.

The Indians gathered on their horses, striped for battle, and began leisurely to ride towards the whites. At the first shot, however, everything changed, the bands concentrated, and uttering their war cries they dashed upon Sully's columns. It was a continuous succession of charges that were always repelled by the steady volleys of the soldiers. The whites kept steadily advancing; their objective point the Indians' camp, which consisted of 1,600 lodges filled with women, children, dogs, horses, and all

the paraphernalia of their homes. When within a half mile of the camp, order was given to the artillery to work eight guns, which was done with terrifying effect.

The Indians began taking down their lodges, and attempted to save their possessions, but it was too late. The fighting became desultory; the Indians shot their guns and arrows, but the blue coated line steadily advanced, and the camp was taken. The Indians almost naked, with the loss of their camp and supplies, fled into the mountains. The white soldiers camped upon the ground, and General Sully ordered Major Camp, with companies E, F, H, and I of the Eighth Minnesota Infantry, to pursue the Indians through the deep wooded ravines and drive them off the high hills, which they accomplished with some loss to the Indians and returned to camp about eleven the same night.

After destroying the Indian camp, and an immense amount of material the command was moved back six miles and camped. The Indians that night killed two men on picket post, and tried to stampede the horses. The next day the command started for the Heart River where the trains were packed. The Indian losses it is difficult to estimate, because of their efforts to prevent their dead and wounded falling into the enemy's hands; it is estimated they had some 5,000 to 6,000 warriors engaged in the fight, and their losses were from 100 to 150 killed.

The gallant charge of Brackett's Battalion of Cavalry to support the skirmishing line was one of the notable features of the battle. The enemy was driven to the base of a hill, entirely routed, with loss of thirteen killed; the battalion suffered a loss of two killed and eight wounded.

FIGHTING IN THE BAD LANDS.

From the Heart River the command marched in a westerly course. In the afternoon of the fifth of August the troops were marched leisurely along, the Knife Mountains just visible towards the north, the Black Hills equally distant in the southward; in front of the army there was no indication of anything

but an almost level plain. General Sully who was in the advance column, called a halt. In front was the Bad Lands; for forty miles to the west, and as far as the eye could see to the north and south the body of the earth was rent and torn, leaving gorges, buttes and yawning chasms, and everything showing a color of burned out fires. It was an awe-inspiring sight, and drew from the commanding general the exclamation "This is hell with the fires put out."

The next day the heart of the Bad Lands was reached, and the command went into camp Saturday night to spend a Sunday in a region that had never before been seen by white men's eyes. The day devoted to rest and prayer passed quietly until in the afternoon, when a reconnoitering party that was returning to camp, was attacked by Indians. At five o'clock the camp was moved four miles up the river; this movement was made without any trouble, though a thousand warriors sat quietly on their horses on the surrounding hills observing operations.

At a little before six o'clock on the morning of August 8, the columns were formed, and Colonel M. T. Thomas, who was in command, owing to the illness of General Sully, gave the order, "Forward." At the conference held a few minutes before this order was given between the commander and his subordinate officer General Sully said, "Hold them well in hand, but push for the Indians' camp if you can find it; they will fight for their families; protect your flanks, and I will protect the rear." Then taking his subordinate's hand he said, while a weary smile came to his eyes, "You must make some history today."

The advance was slow, owing to the abrupt bluffs, one-half of the soldiers being obliged to dismount and scramble to the top to reach high cover. An hour passed in steady tedious climbing up the narrow and secluded way, not a sound disturbed the progress, but when almost at the head of the gulch the pandemonium of war broke loose. The Indians completely enveloped the advance guard, their bands charging, yelling and firing. The soldiers returned their fire the battery guns were unlimbered, the boom of artillery and bursting of shells added to the confusion. The redskins fell back, and their first grand charge had failed.

The roar of the battle was better than medicine to the commanding general, who mounted his horse appeared upon the battle field, and with indifferent air viewed the operations of the troops. Colonel Thomas reported to him that he was ready to advance, Sully replied "Go ahead, you will find the camp beyond those buttes," pointing with his finger to a range of hills some miles away. The advance was taken up, the fight went on until night closed down and the Indians had been driven from point to point for twelve long miles, though their camp was not reached.

The troops bivouacked for the night and were undisturbed. In the morning General Sully commanded the advance, but not an Indian was in sight; just as the rear of the army was leaving camp a spasmodic attack was made upon it, and for an hour it seemed as if the scenes of the previous day were to be re-enacted. The Indians were easily driven off; the march continued, and at noon not an enemy could be seen. The field of battle was named Wahs-chon-choka; it was estimated that the Indians lost 311 warriors killed, between 600 and 700 wounded; the loss to the whites was nine killed and about 100 wounded.

The Indians were followed for several days, but they scattered in small bands, and dispersed in every direction. The command then started northward to meet steamboats on the Yellowstone River. A great deal of suffering was entailed on account of extreme heat, and a scarcity of water, but the troops reached the Yellowstone August 12, where embarkation was made for the homeward journey.

FIRST REGIMENT OF MOUNTED RANGERS.

This regiment was recruited in the fall of 1862, on account of the urgent necessity of having cavalry for the purpose of the Indian War. An order was procured from the War Department for its organization to consist of twelve companies to be armed with long range guns. No sooner was the order promulgated than recruits began to pour into Fort Snelling, and as its companies were filled they were dispatched westward to garrison the different forts in the State.

Samuel McPhail was commissioned Colonel November 24, 1862. William Pfaender became Lieutenant Colonel, John H. Parker, Salmon E. Buell and Orrin T. Hayes Majors. The regiment participated in General Sibley's expedition, and was mustered out of the service by companies from October 20 to December 10, 1863, a large number of its members re-enlisting in various regiments particularly in the Second Cavalry Regiment. The casualities of the regiment were two officers, and four privates killed in battle, and twenty-three privates died from disease and accident.

SECOND REGIMENT OF CAVALRY.

Before the expiration of the term of service of the First Minnesota Mounted Rangers the organization of another regiment of cavalry was authorized by the War Department. The call was issued by Adjutant General of the State October 12, 1863, and the prospect that the regiment would be ordered South retarded for a time recruiting. By hard work, however, the regiment's ranks were soon filled, and a cavalry rendezvous was established at Fort Snelling. The organization of the regiment was completed January 11, 1864 by the commission of Robert N. McLaren of Red Wing, Colonel; William Pfaender of New Ulm, Lieutenant Colonel; E. H. Rice of Waseca County, J. M. Thompson of Houston County and Robert H. Rose of Scott County as Majors. Immediately thereafter Colonel McLaren assumed command, and the companies were ordered to garrison posts on the Minnesota frontier.

Early in the Spring of 1864 the Secretary of War ordered the regiment to report to General N. P. Banks at New Orleans, and to be transported down the Mississippi River by steamboats. A portion of the regiment had started southward, when, owing to the threatening attitude of the Indians the order was countermanded.

In May 1864 the regiment became a part of General Sully's expedition and left Fort Snelling for the rendezvous agreed upon. The regiment took part in the battles of Killdeer Moun-

tain and in the Bad Lands and reached Fort Ridgely on the homeward trip October 8, 1964.

During the winter of 1864 and 1865 the regiment was divided among several forts and frontier posts of the State, with its headquarters at Fort Snelling. At the close of the War of the Rebellion the companies were mustered out as fast as they could be relieved by regular troops. The first company to be mustered out was Company C on November 17, 1865, the last were K and L on May 4, 1866.

HATCH'S INDEPENDENT BATTALION OF CAVALRY.

In July, 1863, the Secretary of War authorized Major E. H. C. Hatch of St. Paul to recruit a battalion of cavalry. During the month of August and the early days of September, 1863, three companies A, B and C were mustered into service; Company D was mustered in November following. On October 5, 1863, the command struck tents at St. Paul, and with one section of the Third Minnesota Battery commenced its overland march to Pembina, which was reached November 13, 1863. Here a camp was established on the north side of Pembina River at its confluence with the Red River of the North. Here the winter was passed. A night attack was made about the middle of December on some marauding Indians several of whom were killed. In connection with British authorities and the local governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, some two hundred members of Little Crow's band surrendered and were delivered as prisoners at Pembina. Not long after the reception of the first prisoners this number was increased by many more and from time to time others surrendered; the prisoners aggregated nearly four hundred.

In the early part of January, 1864, Little Six and Medicine Bottle were captured and delivered at Pembina. The Indians, including these two chiefs having been secured, the object of the expedition was fully consummated. The troops were occupied in guarding the prisoners and the performance of necessary routine duty incident to garrison life.

In the middle of February Major Joseph R. Brown, with from forty to fifty friendly Sioux reported at the camp. In the latter part of the month Major Brown, in charge of the Indian prisoners, except Little Six and Medicine Bottle, departed for Fort Snelling. On May 18 a detachment of thirty men, Lieutenant Mix in command, left for Fort Snelling in charge of Little Six and Medicine Bottle, where the prisoners were delivered to the military authorities on the twenty-seventh.

The health of Major Hatch being impaired he resigned in June, 1864 and Lieutenant Colonel C. Powell Adams was appointed September 5, 1864 his successor. The battalion was increased by two companies; Company E being mustered in August 31, 1864 and Company H September 1, 1864. The respective companies were on duty at different frontier posts, and were mustered out of the United States service in April, May and June of 1866.

THIRD BATTERY OF LIGHT ARTILLERY.

This battery was partially organized in February, 1863, and was officered as follows: Captain; John Jones, who had served several years in the regular army, was in the Mexican War, also at the siege of Fort Ridgely, and was a noted artillerist; Senior First Lieutenant, John C. Whipple of Faribault, who served in the Florida War; Junior First Lieutenant, Horace H. Western of St. Paul; Senior Second Lieutenant, Don. H. Daniels, of Rochester; Junior Second Lieutenant, G. Merrill Dewelle of Lake City.

The battery was ordered from Fort Snelling in the month of June, 1863, to rendezvous at Camp Pope to form a part of General Sibley's Indians expedition. On the return from that expedition Lieutenant Dewelle with the fourth section, was ordered to Fort Abercrombie to escort Alexander Ramsey, who had been appointed United States Commissioner to negotiate a treaty with the Chippewas. After performing this duty this section was stationed at Fort Ripley for the winter. The second section under command of Lieutenant Daniels, was ordered to Pembina in the

middle of October. Lieutenant Western with the third section was stationed at Fort Ridgely, and Captain Jones and Lieutenant Whipple, with the first section were at Fort Snelling.

In the spring of 1864 the battery, with the exception of the second section, which was left at Fort Ridgely, joined General Sully's expedition, and were present at the battle of Killdeer Mountain, also in the fighting in the Bad Lands. After return from this expedition the battery was distributed for the winter of 1864-1865 at Forts Ripley, Sisseton and Ridgely.

In June, 1865, a third expedition was fitted out to march across Dakota against the hostile Indians under the command of Colonel Calahan, of a Wisconsin regiment, to which was assigned the first, second and fourth sections of the battery. The command encamped several days at Devil's Lake, where information was received, that General Sully, who they expected to meet at this point, had proceeded westward. The command then returned to the headquarters at Sheyenne, where a detail of cavalry, with the fourth section of the battery, were detailed to march across the country to communicate with General Sully. Though many signs of the Indians were seen none were met, and on arriving at their destination, it was found that General Sully's command had passed that point several days before on their homeward journey.

The battery arrived at Fort Snelling October 1, 1865, and the latter part of that month was ordered into winter quarters. The first section at Fort Abercrombie, the other sections to Fort Wadsworth. At the latter garrison, owing to insufficient accommodations and the inclemency of the weather great suffering was encountered.

There had been many advocates for a midwinter expedition against the Indians for the reason that it would be more effective. In January, 1866, one started from Fort Abercrombie, to which was attached the first section of the battery under the command of Lieutenant Whipple. The perils, hardships, and sufferings encountered in a march across the plains of Northern Dakota were terrible, and the expedition proved unsuccessful.

In February, 1866, the different sections of the battery were ordered to Fort Snelling to be mustered out of service; they arrived the last of the month, and on the twenty-seventh received their discharge, and the members returned to the civil walks of life.

Chapter XXIX.

ADMINISTRATION OF GOVERNOR MARSHALL.

STATE ELECTION OF 1865.

THE Republican State Convention held in 1865 met in Ingersoll Hall, St. Paul, September 6. It was composed of 123 delegates, and the candidates were William R. Marshall and C. D. Gilfillan of St. Paul and General John T. Averill, who though living in St. Paul was conceded to Lake City, where he formerly resided. It was the Ramsey wing of the party who presented Marshall as a candidate against the field. The division of the anti-Ramsey forces between the other two candidates, proved to be Marshall's good fortune.

The convention was in continuous session from 2 P. M., until midnight, and repeated motions for an adjournment or a recess were voted down. The first ballot stood; Averill forty-four, Marshall forty, Gilfillan thirty-nine. On the sixth ballot Marshall received fifty-three votes and from this to the sixteenth ballot steadily lost ground, having only thirty-eight votes, two less than he began with. He then began to recuperate contrary to the general rule in such cases, and on the twentieth ballot had fifty-two, Averill fifty three, the balance going to Gilfillan. On the twenty-second ballot the vote was Marshall sixty-three, Averill fifty-three and Gilfillan two and the former became the nominee of the convention.

Thomas H. Armstrong was nominated for Lieutenant Governor, Henry C. Rogers for Secretary of State, Charles Schef-

fer was renominated for Treasurer, and William Covill Jr., for Attorney General.

The Democrats held their convention and nominated Henry M. Rice for Governor, John R. Jones for Lieutenant Governor, Charles W. Nash for Secretary of State, F. V. Hyerstadt for Treasurer and William Lochren for Attorney General.

The election was close and exciting, in the early part of the campaign joint debates were held by the two candidates at various cities in the State. Neither of the two gentlemen were orators of much pretentions, but the exigencies of the situation seemed to require the canvass. The program which ordinarily should have taken three hours was generally concluded in one hour, and consisted mainly of the expression of the regard each gentleman held for the other as a pioneer citizen and the esteem he was held in by the community at large. A newspaper article of the time states that after Marshall had concluded speaking every one present felt like voting for Rice, and when the latter had concluded Marshall was again in favor with the audience. The joint debates were discontinued when the two candidates reached Wabasha, owing to the tax on their physical system, and neither of the gentlemen resumed the engagement which had been mapped out for the entire State.

The Republicans were successful in electing their candidates for State officers. The vote for Governor was: Marshall 17,318, Rice, 13,482, Marshall's majority 2,486. The Democrats carried ten of the forty-four counties, namely; Benton, Carver, Dakota, Le Sueur, Manomin, Morrison Ramsey, Scott, Sibley and Stearns.

The inauguration of William Rainey Marshall, January 8, 1866, placed in the chief executive chair of the State one of its progressive pioneers. He came to Minnesota before the organization of the Territory, and became early identified with its business interests. He was of Revolutionary stock, both of his grandfathers (Lieutenant Daniel Marshall and private Samuel Shaw) having been soldiers in the Pennsylvania troops. His paternal grandfather a native of Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, removed about 1785 to Bourbon County, Kentucky; thence the family removed to Boone County, Missouri. On his mother's

side the Governor was Scotch-Irish descent, his maternal grandfather, Samuel Shaw having been born in the north of Ireland, whence he emigrated to America.

Governor Marshall, the son of Joseph Marshall and Abigail Black Shaw, was born near Columbia, Boone County, Missouri, October 17, 1825. When he was in his fourth year his parents removed to Quincy, Illinois, where his boyhood was spent and his early education obtained. At the age of sixteen in company with his elder brother, Joseph, he went to Galena, Illinois, where he worked in the lead mines for a number of years. His leisure time, however, was spent in reading and study, and here he first learned practical surveying. He subsequently mined and surveyed amidst the lead regions of Wisconsin and in September, 1847, came to St. Croix Falls. Here he made a land and timber claim near the Falls on the Wisconsin side. In the spring of the following year he was elected to the Legislature of Wisconsin, but his seat was successfully contested by Joseph Bowron, on the grounds of non-residence, he residing west of the western boundary line of the State which had been changed soon after his election. While at St. Croix Falls he sold goods, dealt in lumber, was deputy receiver of the United States Land Office and took an active part in the boundary meetings.

During the winter of 1847 he made a visit to St. Anthony Falls, staked out a claim and cut logs for a cabin, but partially abandoning the claim he returned to St. Croix Falls. In 1849 he settled at St. Anthony Falls and engaged in a general hardware business with his brother Joseph. He surveyed and platted the town, also surveyed a part of the Territory on the west side of the river.

In 1851 he removed to St. Paul, and became its pioneer hardware merchant and in 1855 established a banking house which succumbed in the panic of 1857. He then turned his attention to farming and introduced into Minnesota its earliest high breed cattle.

Governor Marshall in 1855 presided over the convention that organized the Republican party in Minnesota. On January 1, 1861, he established the St. Paul *Press*, which was formed by the

purchase and consolidation of the St. Paul *Daily Times* and the *Minnesotian,* and which became the leading Republican paper of the State. His connection with the newspaper world was dissolved by his being commissioned in August, 1862, Lieutenant Colonel of the Seventh Minnesota Infantry. He assisted in the suppression of the Sioux outbreak in the State, in the autumn of 1862 and took part in the battles of Birch Coolie and Wood Lake. The following year in the expedition against the Sioux in North Dakota he commanded his regiment in the battle of Big Mound. In October 1863 the Seventh Regiment was ordered to St. Louis, Missouri, and the next month Marshall was commissioned its colonel. The regiment was assigned to the Sixteenth Army Corps and Colonel Marshall lead his command in many battles in Mississippi, Arkansas, Missouri, Kentucky and Tennessee. He was at Paducah, Kentucky, at the battle of Tupelo, in pursuit of General Price. At the battle of Nashville, for distinguished bravery, he was brevetted brigadier general. He was wounded in the attack upon Spanish Fort and at the siege of Mobile commanded his brigade. He was mustered out of the service at Fort Snelling in August, 1865.

Governor Marshall was reelected to a second term for Governor and was from March 14, 1874 to January 10, 1882, railroad commissioner for the State. He died at Pasadena, California, January 8, 1896.

Personally Governor Marshall was a man of fine physique, robust, of unusual physical strength. His general manner was mild, but manly and dignified. He was large-hearted, broad-minded and intellectual, generous, sympathetic, genial and considerate, and unusually versatile in his activities. His sanguine temperament and superabundent hopefulness practically disqualified him for a continuously commercial career. Therefore he was not an accumulator of this world's goods but in a sense his life was a success, because he had learned how to live "with malice toward none and with charity for all."

THOMAS SIMPSON.

EIGHTH STATE LEGISLATURE.

The Eighth Legislature assembled January 2, 1866. The new members of the Senate were William P. Murray and George L. Otis of St. Paul, Reuben M. Richardson from the Third District, C. H. Pettit a merchant of Minneapolis, Gordon E. Cole, the retiring Attorney General of the State. N. F. Randolph a farmer of Lake City, Thomas Simpson of Winona, D. L. Buell of Houston County, Samuel Lord, a lawyer of Mantorville, Reuben Butters, who represented the Seventeenth District and Charles T. Brown, a real estate agent of St. Peter.

Thomas Simpson was of Scotch parentage, but was born in Yorkshire, England, May 31, 1836. He came to America with his parents when a child to Dubuque County, Iowa. He studied engineering and surveying and was connected with Government surveys from 1853 to 1856. He settled at Winona in 1858, studied law and formed a law partnership with two prominent attorneys of that city. In addition to his law business he became a heavy dealer in real estate and money loaning. He was a delegate to the National Republican Conventions of 1864, and 1868, and served as State Senator in 1866-1867.

The House organized and chose James B. Wakefield of Blue Earth City, Speaker. There were but three members re-elected, namely; William Chalfant, J. B. Crooker and S. H. Jay. Among the new members that afterwards become prominently identified with the political history of the State, mention is made of James B. Wakefield, afterwards Lieutenant Governor and Member of Congress, Daniel Buck of Mankato, afterwards Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, Augustus Armstrong of Albert Lea, for many years United States Marshal, and J. Q. Farmer of Fillmore County, a future Speaker of the House.

One of the representatives from the Sixth District was Lewis Harrington of Hutchinson. He was born in Greene, Trumbull County, Ohio. He attended school at Cleveland, Ohio, and came to Minneapolis in 1854, and the following year was elected surveyor of Hennepin County. In the fall of 1855 he in

company with the Hutchinson Brothers and W. W. Pendergast, founded the town of Hutchinson, where he afterwards resided. He served as captain in the Sioux Outbreak of 1862. His death occurred in 1884, while engaged in surveying in Washington Territory.

Nathan F. Barnes of St. Cloud, one of the representatives from the Third District, was a native of Portland, Maine, he received an academic education and served five years as a midshipman in the navy, visiting many parts of the globe. In 1840 he commenced the study of law and was admitted to practice in New Hampshire. He became mail agent on the Isthmus route to California in 1850 and located in that state. He came to Alexandria in 1858, and during the Sioux Massacre he and one another person were the only ones remaining in the neighborhood who escaped being killed. In 1865 he came to St. Cloud and besides representing that district in the House, served many years as city clerk and city justice.

The Ramsey County members were William Branch, a native of Ohio, who came to St. Paul and was a builder and contractor by occupation; Parker Paine, a native of Maine, who upon gaining his majority located at Mobile, Alabama, but in 1853 came to St. Paul and engaged in banking. He was one of the organizers of the Lake Superior and Mississippi Railroad Company; Herman Trott, treasurer and land commissioner of the St. Paul and Pacific Railroad Company. Smith Ellison, of Sunrise, a representative from the Second District was a native of Illinois. He came to Marine Mills in 1844 and from that time until 1856, was engaged in logging and lumber industries. In the latter year he purchased a farm in Sunrise but in 1868 removed to Taylor's Falls where he became interested in mercantile and lumbering business.

Governor Miller in his farewell address to the Legislature again gratefully returned his fervent thankfulness to the Father of Mercies for blessings received. The great War of the Rebellion had been successfully closed and the seceding States had been compelled to return to their allegiance. Human slavery had ceased to exist, and though the hand of the assassin had

stricken to earth the late lamented President his mantle had fallen upon the shoulders of a worthy successor.

The people of Minnesota also had cause for grateful acknowledgment for the condition of the State. Pestilence had not visited her domain, the granaries of the people had been filled with a bountiful harvest. Many thousands of her citizen soldiers had resumed their peaceful vocations. Population had steadily and rapidly increased. The financial condition of the State was on a sound basis.

The condition of the various State institutions was dealt with. The geological survey of the State, under Professor Henry H. Eames, State Geologist, had developed the fact that vast and rich beds of iron and copper ore would be found within the counties bordering on the northern shore of Lake Superior, and in the vicinity of Lake Vermilion veins of gold and silver bearing quartz had been discovered.

He informed the Legislature that the eight railroads of the State had 210 miles of completed road, while there were 183 additional miles graded. In compliance with the Constitution, a State Census had been taken which showed an increase in population in five years of forty-five per cent.

Again the salaries of the State officials formed a part of his address and he recommended that the Governor's salary should be increased to $3,000, in order to maintain the dignity of the position. That the heads of all departments, Judges of the Supreme and District Courts salaries should be increased from twenty-five to fifty per cent, and that the latter amount should be added to the compensation of the Governor's private secretary, the State Librarian and all clerks and subordinate employes of the State. The State officials should be required to reside in St. Paul.

He called the Legislature's attention to the French Universal Exposition to be held in the City of Paris from April 1 to October 31, 1867, and if they deemed it expedient, he would recommend the appointment of a commission to look after the State's representation.

The fee for obtaining a marriage license, which had been fixed at two dollars by the last Legislature, he considered to be an extravagant charge and recommended its reduction to fifty cents.

The Constitutional amendment proposed by the last Legislature which gave the right of citizenship to all male persons, irrespective of color, of the age of twenty-one years, who were either natural or naturalized citizens of the United States, having been defeated by the people by a vote of 12,135 in the affirmative to 14,651 in the negative; he recommended the submission of another amendment conferring the full rights of citizenship on every soldier or marine honorably discharged from the Army or Navy of the United States; on all male citizens of Indian, African or mixed blood of the age of twenty-one years or upwards, who can read and write, and all citizens that were assessed for or pay taxes upon real or personal property valued at $300 or upwards.

The still unsettled state of affairs on the borders of the State was alluded to and an account given of another brutal attack of the Indians on a pioneer family, in which five persons fell victims to their violence. The Governor closes his message with a statistical statement of the troops furnished by Minnesota during the Civil War.

Governor Marshall's inaugural address was short and concise, he stated that owing to the able and full message of his predecessor it left but little occasion for him to make any particular recommendations, though there were some subjects of general and paramount interest which he would like to bring to the notice of the Legislature. He therefore mentioned the educational interests, the obligations of the State to her soldiers, the revision of the statutes, the railroad systems, also the policy of again submitting to the people an amendment for impartial suffrage. He congratulated the citizens of the State on the discovery of gold within its boundaries and he believed it the duty of the Legislature to remind the General Government that the remnants of the Indian tribes should be removed to some locality where they could be well guarded and their outrages made an impossibility.

The Legislature adjourned March 2, 1866. There were passed during the session sixty-two general laws, one hundred and twenty-three special laws and seven joint resolutions. The State was apportioned into twenty-two Senatorial and Representative Districts, the Senate to consist of twenty-two members the House of Representatives of forty-seven members. The liquidation of the Minnesota State Railroad Bonds was a matter of debate and discussion by the Legislature. The Governor was empowered to appoint three commissioners who were to ascertain the parties holding the bonds, and to receive from them propositions stating on what terms they would surrender them. The commissioners were to advertise in newspapers published in St. Paul, Boston and New York the place and time of their meetings, before which the bondholders could present their claims under oath. If no action was taken by the bondholders prior to January 1, 1867, their claims would be forever barred and the Legislature in the future would not feel bound to recognize them.

An act establishing and locating a hospital for the insane was passed and by another act a House of Refuge was incorporated. The accommodation and education of the deaf, dumb and blind of the State was provided for by the erection of a building and establishment of schools.

A bounty of six dollars was to be allowed to any one killing a wolf within the boundaries of the State. The sum of $5,000 was appropriated to continue the geological survey of the State. The county of Beltrami was established. The village of Shakopee and the borough of Henderson incorporated. Twelve special laws were passed for the relief of railroad corporations in extending their lines, or time of construction and affecting their organization and incorporation. Nineteen special laws located and established State roads.

There were during the session various resolutions introduced in both branches of the Legislature endorsing President Johnson and his conciliatory reconstruction policy. On February 28, a set of resolutions which had been passed by the House of Representatives was concurred in by the Senate. The resolutions were intemperate in language which may have been owing to and

somewhat excusable by reason of the high state of public excitement during this period. They consisted of ten resolutions and favored the plan of Congress for the reconstruction of the Southern States. Among the most vivid of the resolutions were the following:

Resolved. That while traitors in crime have been vanquished, the spirit of rebellion, of hatred to the Republic, still exists, and still seeks the opportunity of striking down the flag, which is the emblem of the glorious principles of the Declaration of Independence.

Resolved. That we rely upon the firmness and wisdom of Congress in the present emergency of public affairs, that it is to Congress that the people of Minnesota look for the reconstruction policy, etc.

On the last day of the session of the Senate, a resolution presented by William P. Murray of St. Paul, was adopted without a dissenting vote:

That the Senate of the State of Minnesota approves of the course and the action of her distinguished Senator, Daniel S. Norton, and we take this occasion to express to him our thanks for his statesmanlike views and for his votes upon the great questions of the day, which now agitate the country.

At the Congressional elections in 1866, the Republicans elected both their candidates. In the First District, William Windom defeated John R. Jones by a vote of 13,961 to 8,021. In the Second District, Ignatius Donnelly was again reelected, he defeating his Democratic opponent, Colonel William Covill Jr., by a vote of 12,022 to 7,754.

NINTH STATE LEGISLATURE.

The adoption by the last Legislature of a new Apportionment law, according to the Constitution, terminated the terms of office of all Senators, therefore in 1866 a complete new Senate and House of Representatives was elected.

The Ninth Legislature assembled January 8, 1867. The Senate was composed of seventeen Republicans and five Democrats. The Republicans who had been members of the preceding Senate were J. V. Daniels of Rochester, Luke Miller of Chat-

field and Samuel Lord of Mantorville. The other members of that political party were W. H. C. Folsom, a lumberman of Taylor's Falls; John S. Pillsbury of Minneapolis; Joseph C. Whitney, born in Springfield, Vermont, when eleven years of age his parents removed to Lower Canada. In 1840 he entered Oberlin College, graduating in 1845, and from the Union Theological Seminary in 1849. In the latter year he organized the First Presbyterian Church of Stillwater and was its pastor until 1853, when he was called to the pastorate of the First Presbyterian Church of Minneapolis. Here he remained four years when he removed to Forest City, but returned to Minneapolis in 1860. In 1862 he enlisted in the Sixth Minnesota Infantry and in 1865 was appointed quartermaster with the rank of captain. He returned to Minneapolis in 1866 and engaged in business. Mr. Whitney was greatly interested in the cause of education. He was the principal mover in establishing the public schools in Minneapolis, also Bennett Seminary for Young Ladies and Macalester College. H. L. Gordon, a native of New York State a lawyer residing at Monticello, was known as "Thundering Gordon," by reason of the great volume of his voice. He afterwards removed to California. N. C. Draper and O. F. Perkins were Vermonters, the former a merchant of Hastings, the latter an attorney of Faribault. The Senator from Goodhue County, Warren Bristol, was as early as 1851 one of the mail carriers of the Territory. He was a native of New York State, studied law and engaged in the practice at Red Wing. He served four terms as Representative besides his Senatorial term, and afterwards became a United States Judge in Arizona. J. L. Armstrong, a merchant of Lake City, and a native of Connecticut, represented Wabasha County. A future Lieutenant Governor, William H. Yale, was the Senator from Winona County. The Houston County Senator, D. T. Temple, was a farmer residing at Wilmington. Lewis Porter of Garden City, another farmer represented Blue Earth and Watonwan Counties. An attorney August Armstrong, of Albert Lea, was the Senator from Mower County. Adam Buck, a hotel keeper of Henderson, by birth a German, represented the Nineteenth

District, and James B. Wakefield, afterwards Lieutenant Governor, was the Senator from the Twentieth District.

The Democrats who were members of the preceding senate were William P. Murray of St. Paul, Luther L. Baxter of Shakopee and Reuben Butters of Kasota.

Another member of the Democratic party was Louis A. Evans of St. Cloud, a native of Pennsylvania, he was educated in the graded schools of Philadelphia. He came to St. Cloud in 1856, opened a grocery and provision store. He served five years as clerk of the district court and was admitted to the bar in 1866. He was the first mayor of St. Cloud and edited and published the St. Cloud *Times*. He later filled the position of judge of probate for Stearns County, also city justice of St. Cloud. The other Democrat was Chauncey W. Griggs, a merchant of Chaska, a native of Connecticut, and a resident of the State since 1856.

The House organized and chose John Q. Farmer of Spring Valley, Speaker. It was comprised of forty Republicans and seven Democrats, and six members had been reelected.

The Republican members who afterwards became prominently identified with the political history of the State were Cushman K. Davis of St. Paul; Mark H. Dunnell of Winona; Dr. A. A. Ames of Minneapolis; Nathan Richardson of Little Falls; W. W. Buck of Anoka County; Dana E. King, a miller of Greenleaf, a native of New York and afterwards State Senator; D. G. Shillock of New Ulm, a former Senator; N. P. Colburn, an attorney of Preston, a native of New Hampshire; Horace B. Wilson of Red Wing; D. B. Johnson Jr., a lawyer of Austin; Ebenezer Ayers, a native of New York State, who was engaged in farming at Woodbury. He was afterwards member of the Legislature of 1872 and proved himself a ready debator and an organizer. He became identified with the Greenback party and was rigidly opposed to monopolies. William W. Braden was born in Ohio and came to Minnesota in 1854 locating at Lenora. He served in the Civil and Indian Wars as captain in the Sixth Minnesota Infantry. In 1881 he became State Auditor, filling the position ten years. His health failing him he removed to California where he died in 1897.

The Democrats of the House were Edmund Rice and Charles Lienau of St. Paul; William Brisbine, a native of Scotland, a farmer of Waseca County; Eli F. Lewis, a manufacturer of Watertown, a native of New York State and a pioneer of 1846; N. H. Miner, a lawyer of Sauk Centre; A. K. Maynard of Le Sueur County and Henry A. Jackman, a native of Maine, who located at Stillwater in 1849 and two years later engaged in farming and lumbering. He was a member of the Seventh Territorial Legislature, and was afterwards warden of the State Prison for four years.

Governor Marshall informs the Legislature in his annual message that the State has not been visited by any pestilence; war had not called young men from their peaceful pursuits, nor had Indian incursions or alarms disturbed the borders of the State; immigration beyond precedent had added to the population and wealth; all industrial interests had prospered, agriculture and commerce had increased; railroads had been extended and manufacturies had been built.

He was gratified to report that the increased revenues of the State would not require adding to the per cent of taxes for State purposes. He advocated that the true financial policy was to get out of debt and keep out of debt. There were in operation in the State 315 miles of railroads.

He reported that John Nicols, L. F. Hubbard and J. E. Tourtellott had been appointed by him as the commissioners to negotiate the settlement of the Minnesota State Railroad Bonds, and in accordance with the act their report would be made direct to the Legislature. Without entering upon a discussion of the general question of the legality and validity of the bonds; he assumed the people of Minnesota intended to pay what was justly due on the bonds. He apprehended that no citizen of Minnesota would be willing to suffer the imputation that the State had repudiated or would repudiate one dollar of her just obligations. He further assumed that the people generally believed that something was due on these bonds. He advocated the setting aside of the proceeds from the sale of the 500,000 acres of land received by the State for internal improvements,

for a sinking fund to pay whatever should ultimately be decided as due to the holders of these bonds, thereby saving the people from taxation to pay the bonds.

He informed the Legislature there had been a collection made of cereals, minerals and manufactured articles, which had been forwarded to the United States Agent at New York City for representation of the State's resources at the Paris Exposition.

The Legislature adjourned March 8, 1867, it had passed 122 general laws and 158 special laws, ten of the former were in relation to the educational system of the State. Of the special laws, eighteen were for the benefit of railroad corporations, amending articles of agreement or acts of incorporation, donating lands to and in construction of their roads. The City of Minneapolis was incorporated and Le Sueur was made a borough.

The sum of $10,000 was appropriated to promote immigration. The bounty for the slaying of wolves was increased to $10 for every one killed. The killing of muskrats, mink and otter between May 1 and November 1 was punishable by a fine of $5 for each one destroyed.

The salaries of the Supreme Court Judges were increased to $3,000 annually and the District Judges in the future were to receive $2,500 yearly.

By an invitation of the Legislature Captain Henry F. Johns addressed that body assembled in joint convention on the anniversary of the birthday of the late President Abraham Lincoln. The Legislature also set apart February 22, to observe the memory of George Washington on which occasion his *Farewell Address* was read and an euglogy on his life and character was delivered by Mark H. Dunnell of Winona.

The Legislature was called upon to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution. This amendment, the need of which was occasioned by the two distinct plans for the reconstruction of the Southern States. The President's plan was to re-organize state governments that had complied with the proclamation of President Lincoln of December 8, 1863. This promised full pardon, with the restoration of the rights of pro-

perty, except as to slaves, to all persons (with some exceptions) who had participated in the rebellion, upon condition that they should take and maintain an oath to support and defend the Constitution of the United States and the union of the States there under, and abide by all acts of Congress and proclamations of the President having reference to slaves.

It is also provided that when in any of the seceded States, persons not less in number than one-tenth of the votes cast at the presidential election of 1860 in that state, who had taken and not violated the oath and were qualified voters by law of the state in force immediately before secession, should establish a republican government in no wise contravening the oath, such governments should be recognized as the true government of the State.

Under this scheme governments were organized in Lousiana and Arkansas, in the early part of 1864, and in Tennessee early in 1865, but their Senators and Representatives were refused admittance to Congress. After the close of the war President Johnson recognized these governments, and also Francis H. Pierpont as governor of Virginia, who had exercised jurisdiction over a few counties adjacent to Washington—in that State. He appointed provisional governors for North Carolina, Mississippi, Georgia, Texas, Alabama, South Carolina, and Florida.

The duties of these governors were to call a convention in each state, the delegates elected to be qualified voters by laws in force in the respective states immediately previous to secession, and who had taken the oath prescribed by the amnesty proclamation, similar to that of Lincoln's for the purpose of restoring these states to their constitutional relations to the Federal Government. State conventions were accordingly held, ordinances were passed abolishing slavery, declaring the debt in and of the Confederacy void, and repealing the ordinances of secession. State officers and Congressmen were elected, and the legislatures ratified the Thirteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution. But Congress did not approve of this scheme of reconstruction, and Senators and Representatives from these states were not admitted.

Congress in the early part of 1866 passed, over the President's veto, the "Civil rights bill." This declared "All natives of the United States, excluding Indians not taxed, and those not subject to any foreign powers, citizens of the United States; and as such citizens of every race and color, without regard to any previous conditions of slavery or involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall have the same right in every state and territory in the United States to make and enforce contracts; to sue, be parties, and give evidence; to inherit, purchase, lease, sell, hold, and convey real estate and personal property; and to full and equal benefit of all laws and proceedings for the security of persons and property, as is enjoyed by white citizens, and shall be subject to like punishment, pains, and penalties, and to none other; any law, statute, ordinance, regulation, or custom to the contrary notwithstanding." The United States courts were given jurisdiction of offences against this act.

This was followed by a proposed amendment to the Federal Constitution, which is known as the Fourteenth Amendment. It provides that "All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside," and that "No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; that when the rights of suffrage in any state is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such state, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such state;" that "the validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for service in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned," and that "neither the United States, nor any state, shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States,

or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave." It also incapacitates from holding office certain classes of persons who shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof; but Congress may by a vote of two-thirds of each house, remove such disability.

On January 15, 1867, the above amendment was ratified by the House there being but five votes in the negative, namely; Lewis, Lienau, Maynard, Miner and Rice. Kennedy and Twiford not recorded as voting. The Senate concurred in the ratification the following day by the suspension of the rules, by a vote of sixteen ayes to five nays the latter being cast by Baxter, Butters, Evans, Griggs and Murray. Miller being recorded as not voting.

The commission appointed by the Governor to open negotiations with the holders of the Minnesota State Railroad Bonds, reported to the Legislature that they had held several meetings, one of which was at the Astor House in New York City. They had duly advertised the meetings and had received by mail and other ways, propositions for settlement representing $1,840,000. of the bonds. There seemed to be an unwillingness on the part of the bondholders to state the cost of the bonds. Some who were large holders, offered to accept fifty per cent of the par value and interest in full settlement; while others desired sixty per cent.

Selah Chamberlain of Chicago, who held $967,000 of the bonds, offered to settle at par and interest, claiming that the bonds cost him more than their par value; as he had received the bonds in part payment contracts for building the railroads and had paid a large amount of money for the benefit of the companies, from whom he had received nothing but bonds. This statement was so much at variance with opinions previously attained by the members of the commission, that they employed an engineer to estimate the cost of the road beds constructed by Mr. Chamblerlain. The estimates furnished by this engineer demonstrated the fact that the work accomplished by Mr. Chamberlain only aggregated $298,803 for which he received bonds

amounting to $992,000 which made them cost him on the average a fraction over thirty per cent of their par value.

On January 15, a committee of five was appointed by the House, to whom the report of the commission was referred, also to formulate a plan for the equitable adjustment of the Minnesota State Railroad Bonds. This committee was afterwards made a joint committee to consist of seven members of the Senate and nine members of the House. A majority report signed by eleven of the committee advocated the setting aside of all lands which had inured or should inure to the State under the provisions of an Act of Congress of the United States, approved September 4, 1841, to be known as the Minnesota State Railroad Bond Sinking Fund. When the accumulation of this sinking fund reached $20,000 proposals were to be advertised in a newspaper in New York City, inviting holders of Minnesota State Railroad Bonds to submit proposals for the surrender of any amount or amounts of the bonds. The act, if passed, was to be submitted to the people at the next general election for their approval. There was a minority report which differed slightly in its construction, according to it only $20,000. were to be liquidated in any one year and there were some other slight changes. The reports of the committee, by a motion of Senator Yale, were ordered printed and laid upon the table.

The majority report was on February 28 passed by the Senate with an amendment that the minimum price obtained for the land was to be $3 an acre. A proposed amendment to the Constitution was adopted and concurred in by the House embodying the majority report of the committee, which was to be approved by the people at the next general election.

The action of Senator Daniel S. Norton in sustaining by his vote, President Johnson's plan of reconstruction for the Southern States was the occasion on January 19 of Representative Buck, of the Committee on Federal Relations, submitting the following substitute in place of resolutions which had been referred to that committee condemning Senator Norton.

Whereas: Senator Norton has wickedly betrayed and renounced fidelity to his former expressed principles.

It is resolved that the House of Representatives, the Senate concurring, that he be and is hereby instructed to resign his office as Senator from Minnesota.

This brought from the friends of the Senator a number of substitutes, one from Representative Lineau wished to amend the resolutions by adopting the following:

That Daniel S. Norton, one of our Senators in Congress, has had manly courage to stand up for his country at the risk of being read out of his party and:

Whereas he has labored faithfully for the interests of the State at all times, therefore he should receive the praise of all. * * *

This amendment or substitute received only three votes in the affirmative, and the report of the committee was adopted.

The resolutions coming before the Senate for approval the following stubstitute was finally adopted and concurred in by the House.

Whereas: The Honorable Daniel S. Norton, holding the office of the United States Senator from the State of Minnesota, has deliberately assumed an attitude of political hostility to his constituency that elected him to such office and in his official character and by all his influence has uniformly opposed these principles of equal justice and equal rights which are entertained and adhered to by a great majority of the citizens of the state, therefore, by the Senate of the State of Minnesota, the House of Representatives concurring, be it:

Resolved; That Honorable Daniel S. Norton by persisting in such hostility and oppositon in the Senate of the United States misrepresents therein the State of Minnesota.

Resolved; That the Honorable Daniel S. Norton can not either with honor to himself or justice to the State retain the office of Senator, and that he be and hereby is requested to resign.

Resolved; That the Governor be requested to cause to be transmitted to Senator Daniel S. Norton a copy of the foregoing preamble and resolutions.

Senator Murray unsuccessfully attempted to substitute a resolution similar in phraesology and construction passed by the preceding Legislature, complimenting Senator Norton's course and actions.

Senator Norton seems not to have been imbued with the chivalric spirit of the earlier Senators of the Republic. To the Legislature that censured him he offered no explanations for his actions, nor did he seem willing to submit them to the people for their decision. The Senator's defence and support of President Johnson did not make him realize his hopes of being the dispenser of the patronage of Minnesota; as his Democratic appointees were invariably refused confirmation by the Senate.

He voted against the impeachment of President Johnson, and even the papers and political almanacs do not publish his name among the Republicans but in the Democratic column with which party he subsequently affiliated.

Chapter XXX.

ADMINISTRATION OF GOVERNOR MARSHALL.

STATE ELECTION IN 1867.

THE state campaign of 1867 was opened by the holding of the Democratic Convention in Ingersoll Hall, St. Paul, July 11. The members of the convention were in perfect harmony and the following candidates for State offices were nominated by acclamation. Charles E. Flandrau, for Governor, Arba K. Maynard for Lieutenant Governor, Amos Coggswell for Secretary of State, Andrew G. Chatfield for Attorney General and John Fredericks for Treasurer. The resolutions adopted expressed opposition to the reconstruction measures of Congress as invading the rights of states and dangerous to the liberties of the people, and were intended solely to secure the ascendency of the Republican party; also to the existing tariff laws, as discriminating unjustly against the agricultural states and favoring the manufacturing states. Prohibitory laws were opposed as being subversive of sound morality and an unwarrantable invasion of the natural rights of man.

The Democratic candidate for Governor, Charles E. Flandrau, was born in New York City, July 15, 1828. He was descended on his father's side from the French Huguenots, and inherited their tolerance of all sects and creeds, and he had but little sympathy with the sectarian disputes and contentions of the day.

In his boyhood he was sent to school at Georgetown, District of Columbia. At the age of thirteen he left school,

and shipped as a common seaman on a United States revenue cutter, in which service and a few voyages on merchant vessels, he continued for more than two years. Returning to his books at Georgetown for a short time, the next three years he was employed at the trade of sawing mahogany veneers for cabinet making. Afterwards he settled down to the study of law in his father's office at Whitesboro, New York. Here he was admitted to the bar, and practiced two years with his father. On November 2, 1853 he landed with Horace R. Bigelow in St. Paul and formed a partnership with his companion for the practice of the law. Business not seeking the service of these two young lawyers in a manner to encourage them. Bigelow engaged in teaching school while Flandrau started for the border. He traveled the virgin forests and majestic prairies of Minnesota finally locating on the banks of the Minnesota River at St. Peter and again commenced the practice of the law.

The courts, land offices and justices before whom he practiced were widely scattered and the long distance was often made on foot. In this border life he soon became known throughout the Minnesota Valley, and acquired a commanding influence upon its people. They respected him, believed in and trusted him, elected him deputy clerk of the district court of Nicollet County, later attorney for the same county, sent him to represent them in the Council of the Seventh Territorial Legislature and the Constitutional Convention.

In 1856 he was appointed by President Pierce as Indian agent for the Sioux Nation, and continued in that service until he was appointed, in 1857, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the Territory.

At the first State election he was elected, at the age of twenty-nine years, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court. He resigned from the bench in 1864 and went to Nevada Territory where he resided a short time being engaged in the practice of law with Isaac Atwater, his former associate on the bench of the Supreme Court. After a brief residence at St. Louis he returned to Minneapolis, where with Judge Atwater he began the practice of law.

Chas E Flandrau

In 1870 he came to St. Paul and there resided until his death. During his residence in St. Paul he was actively engaged in the practice of his profession, being successively member of the firms of Bigelow, Flandrau and Clark; Bigelow, Flandrau and Squires; Flandrau, Squires and Cutchen, and in later years practiced alone. His practice was extensive and lucrative. He and his firms were for many years leaders of the bar of the State. Judge Flandrau's connection with the defence of New Ulm during the Sioux Outbreak of 1862, is dealt with in another portion of this work. Among the gentle traits that characterized Judge Flandrau were remarkable evenness and sweetness of temper and disposition. In his social life he was genial, cordial and kind to all. The lowly friend got the same cheery greeting on the street as the man of high degree. In his death, September 9, 1903, the State lost a valued citizen, the Democratic party a lifelong exponent of their principles and policies, his friends a hospitable, genial comrade, his enemies he had none.

The Republican Convention met in Ingersoll Hall, September 11, 1867. In their resolutions they fully approved of the reconstruction measures of Congress. That Persident Johnson in seeking to delay the establishment of civil government in the rebel states prolonged the evils of their situation, baffles the expressed will of the people and forces the acceptance of his repudiated policy of rewarding traitors for their treason by restoring every right and giving them additional political power, is an enemy to the peace and welfare of the country and an impediment to the faithful executions of the law. That with the extinction of slavery came the logical "end of distinction of class and caste and we, therefore, favor the awarding of the right of suffrage to our fellow colored citizens in accordance with the amendment now pending, to be submitted to the people at the coming election."

The platform was an entire repudiation of the record of the party in the last Legislature on the Minnesota State Railroad Bonds and the temperance question. A resolution was offered opposing all future legislation on the subject of the outstanding

Minnesota State Railroad Bonds which did not embrace in itself a complete and final settlement of said bonds at the cost to the State of an amount not exceeding the actual value of the roadbeds acquired by the people, was laid upon the table by a vote of seventy-seven ayes to forty-two nays.

William R. Marshall was renominated for Governor on the first ballot, receiving 119 votes to W. H. C. Folsom 24. The State officials were renominated with the exception of Emil Munch for Treasurer to succeed Charles Scheffer and F. R. E. Cornell for Attorney General to succeed William Colvill, Jr.

There was a marked progress in population between 1865 and 1867, 64,376 votes being cast the latter year, Marshall receiving 34,874, Flandrau 29,502. Marshall's majority, 5,372. There were three constitutional amendments submitted to the people for their approval. The one amending Article 7, Section 1, in relation to impartial suffrage was defeated by a vote of 27,479 in favor to 28,794 against it. The amendment to Article 9, Section 4, which deals with the taxation of notes, bills purchased or discounted, money loaned, etc., of banking institutions, received only 8,742 votes for its approval to 34,351 against. The amendment to Article 15 of a new section to be known as Section 6, creating a State Railroad Bond Sinking Fund for the extinguishing of the Minnesota State Railroad Bonds, was defeated by 1,935 ayes to 49,763 noes.

The Democrats carried for their State ticket the counties of Benton, Carver, Crow Wing, Dakota, Le Sueur, Manomin, Morrison, Ramsey, Scott, Sibley, Stearns and Winona.

The most remarkable incident in the election was the vote cast in Wabasha County. In addition to voting for the constitutional amendments and State officials the vexed question of the change of county seat was to be decided by the people. The inhabitants of Lake City were trying to wrest from Wabasha its prestige as the capital city of the county. This question was the occasion for the return of a remarkable voting record; there was polled for Marshall 4,045 votes, for Flandrau 3,915, making a total of 7,960 votes. This in a county which the United States census of 1865 gives as having only 11,363 in-

habitants, and the fact that the total vote for Governor in that year only amounted to 1,120 and in 1868 in a presidential election only 2,974, suggests the pertinent inquiry. How were these 4,000 surplus votes obtained.

Governor Marshall in his address to the Legislature of 1868, referring to the subject said:

> There should be amendments to the election laws, the last election has developed defects in the registry laws and next to treason, in his opinion, there was no higher crime than to violate the sanctity of the ballot box as the arbiter of a free people. He recommended that one of the penalties of the law against illegal voting or making fraudulent election returns that the offender on conviction should be disfranchised and forever after in the State denied the right to vote or hold office.

TENTH STATE LEGISLATURE.

The Tenth Legislature assembled January 7, 1868. In the odd numbered districts four Democrats and seven Republicans had been elected to the Senate; the seat of D. L. Buell of the Thirteenth District was successfully contested by George F. Potter, leaving the final political complexion of the Senate sixteen Republicans and six Democrats. In the Ninth District Warren Bristol, and in the Twenty-first District Chauncey W. Griggs had been re-elected. The new Republican members of the Senate were C. A. Gilman, C. H. Pettit, George F. Potter, W. E. Harris, E. P. Freeman, C. T. Brown.

The new Democratic members were George L. Becker of St. Paul, Benjamin Franklin a lawyer of Winona, and Seagrave Smith of Dakota County, a native of Connecticut, who settled in Minnesota in 1857. He became a resident of Minneapolis in 1877, and was from March 5, 1889, until his death in May, 1898, District Judge in the Fourth District.

The House organized and re-elected John Q. Farmer, Speaker. There were six members re-elected and it was divided politically into thirty-five Republicans and twelve Democrats. Among the new Republicans were Charles H. Clark, a farmer of Minneapolis, a native of New York, who became a member of subsequent legislatures; Chester D. Davidson of Minneapolis, Speaker

of the House in 1869; S. W. Eaton, a publisher of Rochester; J. W. Furber of Cottage Grove; William R. Kinyon of Owatonna, afterwards Speaker of the House; William Meighen a lawyer of Forestville, afterwards prominently identified with The People's party. The medical fraternity was represented by Dr. G. D. Pettijohn, a native of Ohio, who practiced his profession at Glenwood. O. O. Pitcher, a lawyer of Mankato; John Rudolph a native of Prussia, a banker of New Ulm; Hiram Walker, a manufacturer of Rushford, and Adam Buck, a Senator in the preceding Legislature, were also members of the Republican party.

Among the new Democratic members were William P. Murray of St. Paul, a member of the preceding Senate, who owing to business engagements in the South, did not occupy his seat during the session. R. J. Chewning, of Farmington, a native Virginian, who settled in Minnesota in 1855 and engaged in farming pursuits. He was afterwards for several terms a member of the Senate. A native of Ireland, Dennis Doyle represented Le Sueur County. He was a farmer by occupation and had been a resident of the State since 1852. William Henry of Belle Plaine was also a native of Ireland, he afterwards represented his district as Senator for several terms. George A. La Dow, a lawyer of Wilton, was one of the representatives from the Sixteenth District. In the Twenty-first District Issac Lewis succeeded Eli Lewis. The former was a merchant of Watertown, a native of Connecticut. Dewitt C. Jones, a native of Virginia engaged in the real estate business, was one of the Representatives from Ramsey County.

Governor Marshall in his annual message to the Legislature states that the State debt was $325,000 and owing to the excessive expenditures in the past year and a reduction of a mill in the State taxes the finances were in a straightened condition, therefore he advocated retrenchment and the exercising of the strictest economy, consistent with public requirements, in every branch of the public service.

The destitution along the southwestern frontier settlements had been caused by the advancement of a class of set-

tlers wholly dependent on their crops, beyond the older and productive settlements of the State. The early frosts of the year, which cut off their crops and the long winter of 1866-1867 had exhausted their resources. The destitution existed in new and unorganized counties. The Governor had caused to be paid irregularly, from the State treasury, nearly $7,000 and from the executive contingent fund, $1,000 for relief, of these sufferers. There had been 60,000 immigration pamphlets in different languages distributed by the commission also agents were employed in New York City, Quebec and Montreal during the period of active immigration. The conclusions arrived at had been that the agents were of little use in promoting immigration and the most effective means was by publication through newspapers and pamphlets, of the advantages of the State for a home for immigrants.

He informs the Legislature of the refusal of the people to ratify the constitutional amendment for the creation of a sinking fund for the redemption of the Minnesota State Railroad Bonds and he did not feel called upon to make any further recommendations to the Legislature on the subject.

He gave expression to what he was sure was felt in Minnesota as a national loss, the death, during the past year, of ex-Governor John A. Andrews of Massachusetts. That he was a pre-eminent in patriotic zeal and ability during the dark hours of the rebellion and combined in his character the rare qualities fitting him for public usefulness.

Though the amendment to the constitution for impartial suffrage had again been defeated by the people he recommended that the question should be submitted to them for the third time. The conclusion of his address is devoted to national matters.

The Legislature adjourned March 5, 1868. There were 127 general laws, thirteen joint resolutions and 147 special laws passed during the session. Twelve of the general laws were in the interest of the educational system of the State. A proposed amendment to Article One Section Six of the Constitution, dealing with criminal prosecutions and the rights

of the accused, was passed but the people refused to ratify it by a vote of 14,763 in favor and 30,544 against.

An act proposing an amendment to Article Fifteen of the Constitution incorporating a new Section which provided that the Internal Improvement Lands could not be disposed of by the law until such proposition was submitted to the people of the State, and was adopted by a majority of electors voting upon the same, was passed, but this was also defeated by the people by a vote of 19,398 ayes to 28,729 nays.

The following proposed amendment to Article Seven of the Constitution was ratified by the people at the general election of November 3, 1868, by a vote of 39,493, in favor to 30,121 against.

Section 1. Every male person of the age of twenty-one years or upwards, belonging to either of the following classes, who shall have resided in the United States one year, and in this state for four months next preceding any election, shall be entitled to vote at such election, in the election district of which he shall at the time have been for ten days a resident, for all officers that are now, or hereafter may be elected by the people:

First. Citizens of the United States.

Second. Persons of foreign birth who shall have declared their intention of becoming citizens, conformably to the laws of the United States upon the subject of naturalization.

Third. Persons of mixed white and Indian blood who have adopted the customs and habits of civilization.

Fourth. Persons of Indian blood residing in this state who have adopted the language, customs and habits of civilization, after an examination before any District Court of the State, in such manner as may be provided by law, and shall have been pronounced by said court capable of enjoying the rights of citizenship within the state.

Of the special laws twenty-five were relating to railroad corporations, a number of which gave the right to the inhabitants of various cities and towns to bond themselves to aid in the construction of railroads. Grant and Wilkin Counties were established; Mankato and Rushford were incorporated as cities; Austin and Waseca as villages and Belle Plaine as a borough.

The name of Andy Johnson County was changed to Wilkin. A joint resolution was passed endorsing the action of the Na-

tional House of Representatives in the impeachment of Andrew Johnson.

THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1868.

In the Presidential election of 1868 there were 71,818 votes cast, Ulysses S. Grant, Republican, receiving 43,722 votes and Horatio Seymour, Democrat, 28,096. Grant's majority 15,626. In the Congressional election in the First District Morton S. Wilkinson, Republican, was elected receiving 23,725 votes to George W. Batchelder, Democrat, 14,646.

The Second District was the scene of an exciting contest. Ignatius Donnelly had been in Congress three terms and was a candidate for the fourth. The followers of Senator Ramsey feared if he was elected again he would prove to be a formidable competitor for senatorial honors. During his last term in Congress Donnelly had antagonized Elihu Washburne, a member of the House of Representatives from Illinois. Washburne was a brother of William D. Washburn of Minnesota, also of Cadwallader C. Washburn, afterwards Governor of Wisconsin, and by his efforts in Congress in preventing the success of many extravagant schemes of expenditures, had gained for himself the soubriquet of "The watch dog of the treasury."

William D. Washburn was the natural successor of Donnelly for congressional honors, and was the candidate of the Ramsey element of the Republican party. His brother wrote a letter to the land department at Washington concerning the Taylor's Falls land office in which allusions not complimentary to Donnelly were embodied. This letter, the latter interpreted, was written to support his brother's candidacy for Congress, where upon Donnelly donned his war paint. With his keen wit and ready tongue, he made in Congress what became known as his famous Anti-Washburne speech, in which with cutting sarcasm for over an hour he denounced the Representative from Illinois to the great amusement of an applauding audience. This untimely speech however reacted upon Donnelly and seriously marred his political future. The trend of his

political fortunes would probably have been different if the incident had not occurred and but for his indiscretions of this character he might have realized the ambition of his life and reached the United States Senate. He subsequently became embittered against his associates in the Republican party, seeking means of revenge against his political persecutors by connecting himself with all the fads of political fanaticisms, lending his abilities as an orator to the promulgation of their eccentric and unstable doctrines.

After the adjournment of Congress, Donnelly made a speech at an Ingersoll Hall meeting at which the audience became wildly hilarious and resolutions were passed endorsing his nomination for another term. The supporters of Donnelly were among the younger element of the party, and there would not have been any serious contest over his re-election but for his senatorial ambitions. He was recognized as an able party leader but to the old and experienced politicians, who were followers of Senator Ramsey, his aspirations to become a member of the upper house of Congress was a serious menace to their interests.

The primaries that were held in St. Paul, to chose Republican delegates to a county convention for the election of delegates to attend the convention for the nomination of a Congressional representative from the Second District, were spirited and exciting, the county convention was held August 29, 1868, and was to consist of thirty-five members. The Donnelly and the Ramsey-Washburn factions each appeared with thirty-five delegates, the full number to which the convention was entitled. Thus, every seat in the convention was contested, and there were no delegates left to decide on the credentials of its members.

The hour for calling the convention to order came, and a mob reigned supreme in the old court house, which occupied the site of the present court house and city hall, the place of meeting. There was not the semblance of preserving order, the followers of the two factions simply shouting their defiance to each other. The Donnelly forces being composed of younger men carried off the honors along this line.

Two chairmen as well as a double set of secretaries were elected and amid a great uproar in which not a motion or resolution could be heard, the business of the convention was undertaken. Motions, were written, handed to the chair, and if they met with his approval, were duly recorded by the secretaries. Two sets of delegates were elected and the scene of the contest was therefore transferred to the district convention.

This convention was held in Ingersoll Hall, September 3, 1868. The majority of the district committee was Anti-Donnelly. A formal plan was inaugurated by the majority of this committee to issue only to delegates opposed to Donnelly, admission tickets to the convention hall which were to be signed by the chairman and countersigned by the secretary. The hall was also put under police protection and the key given to the chief of police of St. Paul, with instruction not to open the hall until 11 A. M., of the morning of convention day.

The chairman of the district committee, who was a Donnelly adherent, issued a proclamation that he would issue tickets to all claiming to be delegates, regardless of contest. The Anti-Donnelly delegates on receiving their tickets had them countersigned by the secretary, but the Donnelly delegates would not ask for his signature. On the morning of the day of the convention the Donnelly forces met at Armory Hall a block distant from where the convention was to be held and from whence they proceeded in a body to Ingersoll Hall. On the presentation of their tickets they were denied admission and after some wordy altercations they returned to their former meeting place. Here a harmonious and enthusiastic convention was held and Mr. Donnelly was nominated by acclamation.

The Anti-Donnelly convention at Ingersoll Hall was just as determined as the other, but the proceedings were not nearly as cheerful. William D. Washburn of Minneapolis, Lucius F. Hubbard of Red Wing and Christopher C. Andrews of St. Cloud were named as candidates. The first ballot stood Washburn thirty-one, Hubbard fifteen, Andrews thirteen. Washburn would have been nominated on the next ballot but knowing with a split in the party he could not be elected, he withdrew

his name. General Hubbard then became the recipient of the honor but early in the canvass positively withdrew his name. Then, with considerable effort on the part of the Ingersoll Hall district committee, General Andrews was prevailed upon to allow his name to be used to champion a forlorn hope.

In the meantime the Democrats had nominated Eugene M. Wilson of Minneapolis. The triangular fight resulted in his election to Congress by a vote of Wilson 13,506, Donnelly, 11,229 and Andrews 8,595. The other direct results of the election were the retirement of Mr. Donnelly from the Republican party and the rewarding of General Andrews by Elihu B. Washburne, when he became Secretary of State under Grant. Andrews was made Minister to Sweden, which position he held twelve years, and later Consul to Rio Janeiro, where he was continued until a change in National politics placed Governor Cleveland in the Presidential chair.

The new Congressional representative from the Second District, Eugene M. Wilson, was born in Morgantown, Virginia, December 25, 1833. His ancestors were Scotch-Irish, who came to this country at an early date. His grandfather served in the Revolutionary War. Mr. Wilson graduated at Jefferson College, Cannonsburg, Pennsylvania, in 1852, read law with his father, and was admitted to practice in 1855, and came to Minneapolis in 1857. He served as United States District Attorney during President Buchanan's administration. He was captain of Company A, First Minnesota Cavalry and served on the frontier until his company was discharged by the completion of their term of enlistment. He was afterwards mayor of Minneapolis for four years, and State Senator in 1879. He died at Nassau, Bahama Islands, April 10, 1890.

ELEVENTH STATE LEGISLATURE.

The Eleventh Legislature assembled January 5, 1869. The elections in the even numbered Senatorial Districts resulted in the selection of four Democrats and eight Republicans. S. B. Sheardown, a Republican, was elected in the Eleventh District to the seat made vacant by the death of Senator Benjamin Frank-

lin of Winona. This made the Senate consist of sixteen Republicans and six Democrats.

Of the new members of the Senate, James B. Wakefield had been re-elected. The new Republican members were Dana E. King; George F. Batchelder, a merchant of Faribault; W. W. Prindle, a farmer of Wabasha County; J. A. Leonard, an editor of Rochester; A. Bergen, a lawyer of Preston; J. B. Crooker, a lumber dealer of Owatonna, a former member of the House of Representatives and a native of New York State, and E. R. Smith, a merchant of Le Sueur. The new Democratic members were J. N. Castle of Stillwater, William Lochren of Minneapolis and William Henry of Belle Plaine.

The House organized and chose Chester D. Davidson, Speaker. The presiding officer had been a member of the previous Legislature. He was a native of New Hampshire, and was thirty-eight years of age. He located in Minneapolis in 1856 where he was engaged in mercantile pursuits.

At the last general election seven members had been re-elected and the House was divided politically into thirty-eight Republicans and nine Democrats. Among the new Republican members were W. H. C. Folsom of Taylor's Falls; Joseph Haskell of Afton; A. R. Hall of Minneapolis, afterwards Speaker of the House; Tosten Johnson of Houston County, afterwards for several terms State Senator; J. Q. A. Vail, of Homer, a member of the medical fraternity, a native of Ohio and a resident of Minnesota since 1857; and C. C. Webster a Vermonter, a lawyer of Red Wing.

The farming interests of the state were represented by the following Republicans. L. K. Aaker of Norway; George Bryant of Elgin; Elijah Easton of Steele County; A. J. Grover of Minnola; E. D. Hammer of Pilot Mound; R. D. Hathaway of Olmsted County; T. J. Hunt of Ellington; Tosten Johnson of Spring Grove; John Lathrop of Rochester, E. K. Proper of Mankato; W. C. Rhodes of Madelia; Isaac Thompson of Houston, C. H. Clark of Hennepin County; Joseph Haskell of Afton and R. H. Everett of Cleveland.

The nine Democrats were Luther L. Baxter, a member of the preceding Senate; Paul Faber of St. Paul, a member of the Constitutional Convention; John M. Gilman of St. Paul; John L. Macdonald, a lawyer of Shakopee, A. M. Fridley of Manomin; James J. Egan, a native of Ireland and an attorney of St. Paul; R. J. Chewning; L. Smith from Dakota County and Ludwig Robbers of St. Cloud, a native of Prussia.

Governor Marshall devotes the major part of his message to reviewing the reports of the officials of the State departments, the correctional and charitable institutions. The progress of railroad construction was dealt with and he reported that 128 miles had been completed in the past year and there were 559 miles in operation within the State. The Lake Superior and Mississippi Railroad Company had completed thirty miles of road and during the current year the officers reported they would complete the line to Snake River and in 1870 expected to reach Lake Superior. He thought this competition in transportation to Milwaukee and Chicago markets would reduce the cost of freight to thirty cents a bushel, which would make a difference of $3,000,000 in the value of the export wheat crop of 1868.

He congratulated the Legislature on the final triumph of wiping out forever from the organic laws of the State the unrepublican principle that this is a government for only a part of the people and establishing equal manhood suffrage as the fundamental law of the commonwealth. The free young State of Minnesota, now altogether free proclaims from all her statutes that justice and liberty are the sure inheritance of all who from the oppression of the Old World or the New World seek an asylum within her borders.

The Legislature adjourned March 5, 1869. It passed 108 general laws two joint resolutions and 137 special laws. By a constitutional amendment, which was ratified by the electors at the next general election, the county of Manomin was abolished and its boundaries became a part of Anoka County.

A proposed amendment was passed to Article Four, Section One, regarding the levying of taxes, as follows:

Provided that the legislature may by general law or special act, authorize municipal corporations to levy assessments for local improvements, upon the property fronting upon such improvements, or upon the property to be benefited by such improvements, or both, without regard to a cash valuation, and in such manner as the legislature may prescribe.

This amendment was ratified by the people at the next general election.

The sum of $5,000 was appropriated for the suffering settlers of the Valley of the Red River of the North, and a further sum of $10,000 to promote immigration. The cities of Wabasha and Northfield were incorporated, the borough of Anoka was created and High Forest and Lanesboro made villages.

By a joint resolution Minnesota's Senators in Congress were instructed to use their influence for the removal of the Otter Tail Lake Band of Chippewa Indians from where they were located in Otter Tail County to a tract of land between Leech Lake and Red Lake in the northern part of the State.

Obituary resolutions were passed on the death of ex-Governor Henry A. Swift.

On January 20, in joint convention each house of the legislature having cast a majority of votes for Alexander Ramsey to succeed himself as United States Senator, he was declared United States Senator from the State of Minnesota for the term of six years commencing March 4, 1869.

In the southwestern part of the State the county of Lyon was established November 2, 1869.

Chapter XXXI.

STATE CAPITOL AND EMBLEMS.

SECTION Thirteen of the Organic Act of Minnesota Territory, provided that the first session of the Legislative Assembly should be held at St. Paul, and it should be recognized as the temporary seat of government. It also empowered the Governor and the Legislative Assembly, at such a time as they should deem proper, to locate a permanent seat of government, by a vote of the people. The section further enacted that the sum of $20,000 should be appropriated from money in the treasury, for the erection of suitable buildings at the seat of government.

At the first meeting of the Territorial Legislature, September 3, 1849, the permanent seat of government had not been determined; the only available place in St. Paul, to hold the session was a weather boarded log tavern, known as the Central House situated at the corner of Bench (Second) and Minnesota Streets. Only a portion of this primitive tavern was rented, for the public offices and Legislative Assembly; on the lower floor was the Secretary of Territory's Office, and the Hall of Representatives; on the second floor was the Council Chamber and the Territorial Library. Neither of the legislative halls was over 16x18 feet square. The only mark to designate the tavern, as being the Capitol, by which name it was called, was a United States flag floating from a staff, on a bluff commanding an extensive view of the Mississippi Valley, in front of the building.

During Governor Ramsey's administration the executive office was in his private residence, and the Supreme Court met in rented chambers here and there. At the First Session of the Legislature the Governor delivered his message to the two houses in joint convention assembled in the hotel dining room. At this session the question arose whether the Territory had the right to expend the $20,000 appropriated for a Capitol building; on submission to William M. Meridith, the United States Secretary of Treasury, he decided that until a permanent seat of government was decided upon, no moneys could be expended for the erection of a public building.

The time elapsing between the assembling of the first and second sessions of the Legislature, had materially increased the population of St. Paul; several additional buildings had been erected among which was a three story structure, since destroyed by fire, on St. Anthony Street, now Third, between Washington and Franklin, being (1908) the site of the Third Street front of the Metropolitan Hotel. In this building the session of the Legislature assembled January 2, 1851. The mooted question of the permanent capital having been decided, a bill was passed authorizing the construction of a capitol building at St. Paul, and a board of building commissioners was duly elected, consisting of D. F. Brawley and Louis Robert, of Ramsey County; Jonathan McKusick of Washington County and E. A. C. Hatch of Benton County. Mr. Brawley was selected by the board to have personal charge of the construction of the Capitol.

After the examination of several proposed sites, the commissioners finally accepted the block now known as Capitol Square, situated between Wabasha and Cedar, and Exchange and East Tenth Streets.

This block was donated by Charles Bazille, a pioneer resident and large property holder of St. Paul, and the right and title to the land was given to the General Government free from any future revocations.

Plans submitted by N. C. Prentiss, an architect of St. Paul, were adopted, and a contract for building the edifice was let to Joseph Daniels for $33,000 the total cost however was only $31,-

222.65, the General Government having appropriated an additional $12,500. Building operations commenced in the spring of 1851, but the Capitol was not completed until the summer of 1853.

The third and fourth sessions of the Legislature were compelled to meet in rented buildings. The former assembled in Goodrich's block on Third Street below Jackson, and the latter in a two story brick structure on Third Street near the corner of Minnesota.

The new Capitol was in the form of a T and was first occupied July 21, 1853, by Governor W. A. Gorman. When the building was destroyed by fire, owing to alterations and repairs there was little but the walls remaining of the original structure. The interior furnishings and equipments were as plain as the exterior, and prior to 1866 in which year gas was introduced into the building, the legislative halls were lighted by candles. It was heated by wood stoves until 1871 when a steam heating apparatus was installed, the building was also piped for city water, which previous to this time was supplied by carts. Though the building, as a witty member of the Legislature expressed it, began to have "some of the comforts of civilized life," it became inadequate for the rapidly extending business of the State, which had increased eightfold since its erection.

The increased representation of 1872 made it imperative that additional room should be provided. The Legislature at its next session ordered the wing fronting Exchange Street built at an expense of $8,000; to preserve, as far as possible, the symmetrical appearance of the building, changes were to be made in the roof, cupola, etc., at the cost of $6,000. This furnished relief for several years, but the members of the house suffered from the crowded condition, bad ventilation, etc. The Legislature of 1878 ordered the erection of a new wing, fronting Wabasha Street to accommodate the House of Representatives properly, and give more space to other departments. This improvement was completed at the cost of $14,000 in December, 1878, making the total cost of the building $108,000. The Representatives Hall was 96x48 feet in the clear, and though the building was

not of very symmetrical shape, it was commodious and comfortable, having grown from its original size, 139 feet front and 53½ feet deep, to 204 feet front and 150 feet deep, containing about fifty apartments.

The Twenty-first Legislature was the first to meet in the reconstructed Capitol. The first biennial legislature convened January 4, 1881, and while holding a night session at nine o'clock on the evening of March 1, 1881; the halls and departments being crowded with visitors, the dome of the Capitol was found to be on fire. The flames spread rapidly, and the building was doomed. Most of the furniture and records of the various offices were removed. The law library, state laws, documents, reports and stationery were a total loss, which including the building amounted to $200,000. The origin of the fire to this day (1908) remains a mystery. After a thorough investigation, the only reasonable solution arrived at, was that the fire must have worked its way through the partitions, from the lower part of the building and was discovered when the flames reaches the dome.

The city of St. Paul had just completed a fine and spacious market house, located at Seventh and Wabash Streets, and its use was tendered to the State by the city authorities; the furniture and effects saved being removed to that place. At nine o'clock on the morning after the fire, the executive branches of the government were at work in their new quarters. Though the Legislature had but ten days to complete its session, Governor Pillsbury secured estimates and an act appropriating $75,000 for rebuilding the Capitol was passed. Work was commenced at once, but it was found the old walls were unsafe; at an extra session of the Legislature in September, 1881, a further appropriation of $100,000 was made to complete the building.

The new Capitol was in the form of a Greek cross, two stories in height, with a high basement. The latter is built of cut stone; the superstructure of red brick with Dresbach stone trimmings. The building was made as nearly fireproof as possible, each office having a large safe, the roof being of slate, the boiler house being detached from the main edifice. There were

sixty-seven comfortable and convenient apartments and rooms, having good light and ventilation, a majority of which opened into spacious halls. The Senate Chamber was 40x51½ feet in size, that of the House 44x85 feet, each having a 24 foot ceiling, with ample suites of committee and cloak rooms. The dome is 200 feet above the ground and afforded to visitors ascending it, a noble view of St. Paul and its environments. The total cost of the building was about $275,000.

In the early nineties the population had so increased, thereby augmenting the business of the State, that an agitation was started demanding more commodious quarters. Several departments of the State were located in business blocks remote from the Capitol. Every nook and corner in the building was a hiding place for documents, every available location was sought to place another desk. The ventilation was so imperfect, that during the sessions of the Legislature, many members were obliged to absent themselves, owing to illness contracted from the noxious air.

The agitation on the construction of a new Capitol again precipitated the formation of plans for the removal of the capital. Though several bills were introduecd to appoint joint committees to secure more favorable accommodations by the efforts of the St. Paul delegation, they were quickly tabled. The legislative delegation from the Capital City had been elected in the fall of 1890, irrespective of party politics; in the upper house was John B. Sanborn, William B. Dean, C. H. Lienau and Hiram F. Stevens, well known for their business qualifications, and in full concord to defend and protect their city in her rights.

Soon after the opening of the session, Senator Dean commenced to advance the question of a commission to be appointed to build a Capitol, this was in the face of the most unfavorable conditions, the legislative members had been elected on a platform of retrenchment, besides the present Capitol had only been in use eight years. A resolution was offered by Senator McMillan of Hennepin County, for the appointment of a commmittee of three to report on the Capitol question. The President of

the Senate, Gideon S. Ives, after the passage of the resolution appointed F. G. McMillan, of Minneapolis, William B. Dean of St. Paul, and Jay La Due of Luverne; the committee was afterwards increased to five, and Oscar Ayers of Austin; and Henry Keller of Sauk Centre were added.

After the adjournment of the Legislature, a quiet discussion was carried on in regard to an eligible site; determined efforts were made in behalf of Merriam Park, situated midway between Minneapolis and St. Paul; the former city also offered to give a gift deed of a desirable site, if the building was erected within her boundaries.

The committee met at the Merchants Hotel in St. Paul on November 4, 1891. They were of the unanimous opinion that a new Capitol should be erected as soon as possible, at a cost of not less than $2,000,000 or more than $3,000,000, and to be built as far as possible of Minnesota stone. The committee adopted a resolution that the site now occupied was in all respects most eligible, but if found inadequate for the purpose, a new site should be obtained to be located not more than three-quarters of a mile from the present Capitol. To the adoption of this resolution Senator McMillan dissented.

The two reports of the committee were on February 3, 1903, presented to the Senate. Senators Dean, La Due, Ayers, and Keller submitting the majority report; Senator McMillan a minority report, which besides dissenting on the subject of location, urged that the competition for plans be limited to architects within the State.

On the same day Senator Dean introduced a bill for the erection of a new Capitol, appropriating $2,000,000 for the construction of the building; the following day Hiler H. Horton presented a similar bill in the House. The battle for the new State Capitol was on; the greater number of the Senate had been elected on a widely heralded platform of economy and reform, the Republicans were in control of the House, the Democratic-Alliance members were in the majority in the Senate. The St. Paul delegation was obliged to assume an aggressive attitude, for if successful the vexed question of the permanence of the seat of

government would be forever settled. It was by the skillful and incessant work of William B. Dean in the upper house and Patrick H. Kelly in the lower house, that the bill was rapidly advanced; on March 17, 1893, it passed the House by a vote of sixty-eight to forty-one, and on April 6 the Senate by a vote of thirty-four to twenty, and was approved by the Governor the following day.

The bill provided for the appointment by the Governor, to be confirmed by the Senate, of a Board of Capitol Commissioners, to consist of seven persons, one from each Congressional District. The Governor was made a non-voting member of the board. It appropriated for purchasing site, etc., and construction $2,000,000, to be provided by a tax levy of two-tenths of a mill upon the assessed valuation of the State each year, not to exceed ten years commencing in 1895.

The first members of the Board of State Capitol Commission were Henry W. Lamberton of Winona; James McHench of Fairmont; George A. Du Toit of Chaska; Channing Seabury of St. Paul; John De Laittre of Minneapolis; Charles H. Graves of Duluth; and E. E. Corliss of Fergus Falls. Mr. McHench died April 27, 1895, and Daniel Shell of Worthington was appointed September 3, 1895, in his stead. The latter served until January 16, 1896, when he resigned and Edgar Weaver of Mankato was appointed. In April, 1905, C. H. Graves ceased to act with the board, having been appointed United States Minister to Sweden. At the request of the board no appointment was made to fill the vacancy. The death of Henry W. Lamberton occurred December 31, 1905; John Ludwig was appointed to his place, filling the position until his death September 21, 1906, when Henry M. Lamberton, son of the former member, became his successor.

The board organized for business May 13, 1893, and diligently prosecuted their duties. A commanding site located four blocks north of the old Capitol was purchased, including a lot for the boiler house in an adjoining block, at a total cost of $367,161.98. It is bounded by University Avenue on the north, Cedar Street on the east, Wabasha Street and Central Avenue

on the west and Park Avenue on the south; and contains about 335,750 square feet.

A design of Italian Renaissance style of architecture, expressing dignity of purpose, with terraced walls, balustrades and the general features of the approaches harmonizing; was submitted by Cass Gilbert of St. Paul, in competition with forty-one architects from various portions of the United States. After mature deliberations, with visits of a committee to Eastern Capitols, also a government building at Pittsburg and the Congressional Library in Washington, supplemented by the advice of an expert judge, the commission on October 30, 1895, accepted Mr. Gilbert's design and he was designated the architect for the new Capitol.

The general plan of the building is an oblong, with a wing in the center of the north side; the length over all, exclusive of entrance steps, being 432 feet, 10 inches; the width through the central portico, 228 feet, 3 inches; height from the base of steps on south front elevation to top of the ball on the dome, 220 feet.

The board in 1896 proceeded with the construction of the building, as rapidly as the funds available would allow; ground was broken on March 6; first stone laid June 23, the foundation completed November 24, of that year by George J. Grant; the steel girders were also put in place by the Universal Construction Company. During the next year concreting of the sub-basement floor, the drainage system of the same was completed by Lauer Bros. and Miller. The contract for general construction which included the erection of the main wall, the roof, the interior cross walls, vaults, the steel floor beams and the dome pieces (but not the dome itself) was awarded August 31, 1897, to Butler-Ryan Company of St. Paul. The facing of the basement exterior walls, steps, terraces, are of St. Cloud granite from the quarries of William C. Baxter, the faces of the superstructure were originally intended by the architect, to be of Minnesota stone, but in adherence to the fitness of a classic edifice it was deemed best to waive the consideration of state advertisement, and substitute for exterior finish marble from the quarries of

Georgia. The interior walls, vaults, backing of exterior walls are best burnt Minnesota brick; the general foundation is of Winona stone, the dome pieces are of Kettle River sandstone, while the dome itself corresponds with the marble exterior. The brick walls and vaults are laid in domestic cement, the quality of which was thoroughly tested, the exterior facings are laid in imported non-staining cement.

The laying of the corner stone was celebrated July 27, 1898, with appropriate ceremonies. The exercises began by Archbishop Ireland invoking Divine benediction. Mr. Graves, for the commission, made a statement of the work of the board. The oration was delivered by Cushman K. Davis, upon the conclusion of his address, various articles and memorials were deposited in a box, indicative of the progress of the State in art, literature and agriculture. A silver trowel was presented to ex-Governor Ramsey, who then proceeded to round out his half century service to the people of Minnesota by spreading the mortar under the corner stone, the bands playing and the people singing the national hymn "America." Governor Clough having announced the stone as well and properly set, the multitude was dismissed, the benediction being pronounced by Bishop H. M. Gilbert.

The commission in its report to the Legislature made January 1, 1901, asked permission to spend an extra $1,000,000 so that the interior of the building could be completed to conform with the exterior. This additional grant was readily made, as there was a universal disposition to encourage the commissioners, as the building was assuming magnificent proportions.

Two years later the committee reported that there had been a great increase in the cost of building materials, that extensive exterior decorations were contemplated, also that modern office appliances were needed, and that polished Minnesota stone should be used for wainscotting for the corridors, instead of wood and plaster. They finally asked from the Legislature an additional $1,500,000. This was acceded to after much discussion, some of it unpleasant for the commission, but the bill was passed granting the amount by a decisive vote.

In the summer of 1900 a contract for the construction of the dome in marble, was let to the Butler-Ryan Company, and the work was vigorously pushed forward, hopes were entertained that the building would be completed before the assembling of the Legislature of 1903.

The interior finish was rapidly advanced, it was deemed advisable to import from the most noted European quarries marbles in the rough as they were considered more adaptable to a higher polish than domestic stone. The cutting, carving and polishing of the marble was done on the site of the building by Minnesota workmen. The columns in the stair hall are of Breche Violette from Italy; the balustrades are Skyros from one of the islands of the Greek Archipelago; that in the Senate Chamber is Fleur de Peche from France; the base of the columns and the lower section of floors in the upper stories is Hauteville, also from France, columns in the House of Representatives Hall and Supreme Court Room are from Vermont. The square panels under the main cornice in the rotunda are from the old convent quarries near Siena, Italy; while the base in the Governor's reception room is Levante from the same country. Tennessee marble is used for the border of the stone floor which is of Joliet stone, also for steps in east, west and north vestibule, first story. Echailon is used for trimming around doors, opening on dome and corridors; the mantel pieces and dark red in the panels of the floor is Numidian from the Nile. The facings of the dome, the corridors, main stair corridors and dome walls, however, are of Minnesota stone from the quarries of Mankato and Kasota; being the first instance where these stones have been used for interior finish. It is the prevailing stone in the inside facings of the building and its extensive use, contributes very largely to the beauty and finish of the structure.

The general wood work is oak, mahogany being used in certain places.

The Senate Chamber, the Hall of the House of Representatives and Supreme Court Room are of ample dimensions, the dome ceilings being lighted by great skylights.

The magnificent conception of the architect has, by his advice, been supplemented by artistic ornamentations; the mural decorations by Albert Garnsey are in harmony with the interior marble facings, good paintings on the walls and canvas are by such well known artists are Edward E. Simmons, Kenyon Cox, H. O. Walker, Edward H. Blashfield, John La Farge, F. D. Millet, Douglas Volk and Howard Pyle. As to sculpture the building has not been forgotten; six handsome figures stand over the main cornice of the southern entrance typifying Wisdom, Courage, Beauty, Truth, Industry and Prudence, while above the attic of this entrance is placed a large bronze Quadriga representing the Progress of Minnesota, all by Daniel Chester French.

The Capitol Commission on March 30, 1907, after nearly fourteen years of service, completed their labors, and in accordance with a law passed March 20, 1905, turned over the maintenance and care of the building to the Governor.

Of the $4,500,000 appropriated, all but $8,000 had been expended; a building had been erected that has made Minnesota famous the World over, without the slightest taint of graft, thus nobly exemplifying that a public trust can be executed with honesty and economy.

TERRITORIAL AND STATE SEALS.

By an act of the Territorial Legislature approved November, 1849, a great seal of the Territory was authorized and provided for. In size and form it was to be of the diameter of the temporary seal, then in use and be inscribed with the words "Great Seal of the Territory of Minnesota, Organized A. D. 1849." It was further provided that the center of the seal might contain such emblems, devices and mottoes as may be agreed upon by the Governor and Delegate to Congress.

The temporary seal referred to was two and a half inches in diameter, apparently composed of two brass circles such as are common in printing offices, the inscriptions were set within these circles in ordinary job type. The outer inscription was "The

Great Seal of the Territory of Minnesota, U. S. A." The inner line or motto was "Liberty, Law, Religion and Education," in the center was a rude representation of a sun burst.

Alexander Ramsey was Governor of the Territory, and General H. H. Sibley the Delegate to Congress; the latter when in Washington in the winter of 1849, after conferring with the Governor, set about the execution of their trust. It was the first attempt of these young statesmen in heraldry; they, however, gave their minds to the work with interest and spirit.

A legislative committee had recommended as a device an Indian family encamped with lodge and canoe, a white man visiting them and receiving from them a pipe of peace. This idea was rejected by Ramsey and Sibley, but it was agreed that something typical of the advent of civilization among the red men should be adopted. General Sibley then sought the service of Colonel J. J. Abert, chief of the bureau of topographical engineers, conveying to him this latter idea to be worked out. Colonel Abert selected Captain Seth Eastman, to make the drawing for the design, he being a well known delineator of Indian life, having been conversant with their modes and habits, while stationed at Fort Snelling. In his artistic work he may have had the assistance of his wife, who was of poetic temperament, and had written several epics on Minnesota, the land she loved.

Captain Eastman submitted four designs; an Indian chief on horseback in full aboriginal costume, with an elk, etc., in the background. A mounted Indian in full costume, on an isolated rock. A mounted Indian in full costume, with implements of husbandry in the foreground—A mounted Indian in the background; a white man plowing with oxen and other signs of civilization in the foreground.

Colonel Albert also submitted a design, and with Eastman's four drawings forwarded them to General Sibley, who resent them to Governor Ramsey at Philadelphia, where he was on private business; with the designs General Sibley sent a long list of mottoes, the majority of which he had selected from "Burke's British Peerage," some of which he had translated into French. Governor Ramsey returned them to General Sibley

under date of December 28, 1849, making the following comments:

Upon a careful examination of the designs and mottoes for our seal, I have come to these conclusions: That the drawing by Captain (Colonel) Abert civilization in the number and prominence of the objects predominates too much over the Indian state, which at least for the present is our most distinct characteristic. In Captain Eastman's design the equilibrium is better preserved, his is also more bold and striking.

If think it better to adopt Abert's design, would it not be well to take out some of the improvement ideas, say the stump and ax, or at some appropriate point locate a tepee? This would make the Indian life in the seal more striking and attractive.

In the matter of the motto, I must confess something characteristic, in an eminent degree of American go-ahead-ative-ness, something suggestive of enterprise, courage and tireless industry; of the mottoes in English I prefer the following in their order: "Forward without Fear," "Deeds Show-Forward," "Advance with Courage." But the better taste in these mottoes might be better met in French or Latin, and I would therefore, have the less hesitation in agreeing with you upon one of this character and would prefer the following in order quoted:

"Droit et Avant," "Ascendum per Vias Rectus," "Quod Potui Perfeci," "Neo Timide Neo Timere." I shall if I possibly can, leave this city on Sunday morning, and will see you on the evening of that day. In the meantime if you can send for the engraver and have him prepare his material, etc., it will expedite matters.

Governor Ramsey and General Sibley conferred with Captain Eastman at Washington and the design with the Falls of St. Anthony and substitution of horses for oxen, suggestions of General Sibley, were agreed upon. The General also proposed that the North Star should appear, in the sky above the landscape, but on Ramsey showing the absurdity of a plowing scene by starlight, he abandoned his idea. General Sibley's suggestion for a motto was adopted, it is that of the house of the Earl of Dunraven "Qua sursam Volo Videre," "I desire to see what is above." This was good Latin but when it appeared on the seal, it read "Quo sursam Velo Videre," which made a meaningless sentence. Neill says this was the blunder of the engraver, but from General Sibley's list in his

own handwriting, it would seem that the engraver, D. O. Hare, followed copy.

The first impression of the new seal of the Territory was found to be faulty, and there was of course much criticism of the design. The journalists of the day ridiculed it, stating they doubted the capacity of a man plowing one way and looking the other; that it represented a scared Indian running away from a frightened white man; that the Indian facing towards the east was fleeing towards civilization not away from it.

Mrs. Eastman who found a theme for her muse in almost every incident connected with Minnesota, wrote a poem on the seal beginning

> Give way! Give way young warrior!
> Thou and thy steed give way!
> Rest not, though lingers on the hills,
> The red sun's parting ray.

The seal was used however until the organization of the State, the Constitution provided for the Legislature to make an appropriation for a device and motto for a State seal. At the first session of the State Legislature a special committee of which W. H. C. Folsom was chairman, was appointed, and they reported in favor of a delineation, the workmanship of one Buechner, an artist of St. Paul. The Republican wing of the Constitutional Convention had approved of this drawing, which was presented to that body by Charles F. Lowe.

The design was a waterfall (supposed to be that of Minnehaha) within a shield; to the left of the shield was a figure of an Indian pointing toward the setting sun, with his tomahawk, bow and arrows; to the right the figure of a white man with a sheaf of wheat, and the implements of agriculture at his feet. In the upper right hand corner appears a distant view of Lake Superior with a ship in full sail. In the opposite corner was a steamboat ascending a river, between these two and over the shield were three trees, an oak, pine and maple. Around the upper rim of the seal were the words: "State of Minnesota, A. D. 1858." Upon the lower rim the motto "Liberty and Union now and forever, one and inseparable" appears.

The Legislature adjourned without taking any action in the matter; the State government coming into operation, Governor Sibley authorized the Secretary of State to use the old territorial seal. At the re-assembling of the Legislature, a report was submitted by the committee favoring the design presented by Mr. Lowe which was adopted by the Senate June 24, 1858, by a vote of twenty yeas, four nays (See Senate Journal of 1858, page 460); it was presented to the House for concurrence on the above day and was at first indefinitely postponed, this vote was afterwards reconsidered and the resolution was adopted June 25, 1858 (See Journal of the House of 1858 page 742).

For some unexplained reason this State seal, which had been legally adopted, was never used. For the elaborate design there was substituted the device of the old territorial seal with a few changes. The equestrian Indian was riding westward instead of eastward, the farmer was still watching the Indian but was plowing towards the east; the Falls of Minnehaha were placed to the right instead of the left of the design, the axe had disappeared from the stump, neither horses nor oxen appeared in front of the plow either in the territorial or state seals; a setting instead of a rising sun was shown. The word state was used instead of territory, the date was changed from 1849 to 1858. The Latin motto was replaced by a French one, "L 'Etoile Du Nord" (The Star of the North.)

The Minnesotian, a newspaper printed in St. Paul ridiculed this substitution, a series of vituperative articles appeared, declaring that General Sibley had used a French motto simply because he spoke that language. This would seem that the discarding of the legally adopted seal and the substitution of the present one was the work of Governor Sibley. The insinuations for the change of the motto to say the least is unjustifiable, Governor Sibley advocated the North Star should appear on the territorial seal, and though he was a proficient French scholar, it is only fair to remember that for many years he was connected with fur companies in an official capacity; owing to the employment of *coureurs de bois* and half-breeds, French was more generally spoken than English.

Folsom in his "Fifty Years in the Northwest," on page 659 makes this erroneous statement that "the present great seal of Minnesota; there seems to be no evidence that it was ever legally adopted, and a question may be well raised as to its validity."

That a historian of his ability should make such an error must have come from spite without pretensions to the truth. The Legislature of 1861 passed the following law: "Section One. That the seal heretofore used as the seal of this state shall be the seal thereof."

"Section Two. This shall take effect, etc." Approved March 5, 1861.

Folsom was the introducer of the bill for the seal that was first legally adopted, and though the present seal was illegally used for a period of nearly three years, it does not seem possible that when he wrote his work over a quarter of a century afterwards but that he must have been aware of the fact that the present seal had been legally adopted.

THE STATE FLAG.

The State Legislature of 1893, by chapter sixteen, provided for the adoption of a State flag.

Mrs. Franklin L. Greenleaf, Mrs. A. A. White, Mrs. Edward Durant, Mrs. F. B. Clark, Mrs. H. F. Brower and Mrs. A. T. Stebbins were by this act named and designated a commission to select and adopt the appropriation design for a State flag.

Conformably to the provision of this act, this commission called for designs, and on Tuesday, February 28, 1893, met, selected and adopted the design presented by Mrs. Edward H. Center, of Minneapolis.

Following is a description of the flag: "The ground is of white silk, and the reverse side of blue silk, bordered with bullion fringe. In the center is the State seal, wreathed with white moccasin flowers, on a blue ground. The red ribbon of the seal bearing the motto is "continued through the wreath, entwining the blossoms and floating carelessly over the lower por-

tion of the flag. It bears, in gold, the dates 1819, the time of the settlement of Minnesota, and 1893. Above, also in gold, is the date 1858, the time of the admission of Minnesota to the Union. Below the design, in gold letters, is wrought "Minnesota." Grouped around the seal are nineteen stars in the design of star points, with the North Star, significant of the North Star State, in a group of three at the top."

The choice of the number nineteen is a peculiarly happy one, as Minnesota was the nineteenth state, after the original thirteen, to be admitted to the Union. The standard to the flag was surmounted by a golden gopher, and tied with a gold cord and tassel. The execution of the design is entirely in needlework.

The State flower is a Cypripeduim, from the Greek words meaning the Shoe of Venus; its common English and American popular names are Lady's Slipper, Moccasin Flower and Indian Shoe.

Chapter XXXII.

CORRECTIONAL AND CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS.

AT the session of the Second Territorial Legislature a bill was passed authorizing the appointment of four commissioners to erect a capitol at St. Paul and a prison at Stillwater. The passage of this bill, and a month later the incorporation of the University of Minnesota and locating it at St. Anthony Falls, seems of itself evidence that the distribution of these territorial institutions were the result of a compromise to satisfy the representatives of the three important populous communities.

To Jonathan McKusick, a member of the building commission, was delegated the superintendency of the construction of the prison for which $5,000 had been appropriated. A site was located by the commission bordering on the St. Croix River in the central portion of Stillwater, in a ravine surrounded on north, west and south by abrupt hills of several hundred feet in height. The selection was generally conceded to be badly chosen as the ground, little over nine acres, was mostly quagmire and it was crowded between high cliffs, though it was convenient to the lake, steamboat landing, and well supplied with pure spring water.

It was in 1851 that a contract was made with Jesse Taylor, Francis R. Delano, Martin Mower, and J. E. McKusick under the firm name of Jesse Taylor & Co., to build a three story stone building, 30x40 feet to be enclosed with a stone wall. The structure was completed in the same year, to which the prisoners, who prior to this date had been confined at Fort Snelling.

were transferred. Two year afterwards an addition was built, and Francis R. Delano became warden, continuing in that position until the organization of the State. His duties could not have been arduous as the greatest number of convicts during that time was eight in 1855 while in 1857 there were none and in 1856 only one. During the Territorial days the warden controlled the expenditures of public moneys used in building and other expenses.

THE STATE PRISON.

Under the first administration of the State government Francis O. J. Smith became warden, he filled the office five months when he was succeeded by Henry N. Setzer, who inside of two years gave place to John S. Proctor. He was warden over eight years when Joshua L. Taylor was appointed and served little more than two years. The next warden was A. C. Webber and in seven months he was superseded by Henry A. Jackman; on August 3, 1874, John A. Reed became his successor. Under the State rule the warden was relieved from the responsibility of expending the public money.

Wings to the prison wall were built, shops and other accessories were added; in 1870 an appropriation of $74,000 was made for extending the building, also outside companies were permitted to build shops and manufactories within the prison limits. From 1860-1870 there was a yearly average of twenty convicts, there being seven in the years 1862 and 1864, forty-seven in 1869.

The prison buildings have at several times been visited by fires, the most serious in 1884, on January 8, of that year, the large work shop and machinery owned by the State and the Northwestern Car Company were destroyed, a second fire occurred eighteen days later, practically ruining the main building in which the cells were located, the prisoners were rescued with great difficulty, one perishing by suffocation.

Warden Reed after holding the office nearly thirteen years was succeeded by H. G. Stordock, who gave way in 1889 to J.

J. Randall. The latter served about two years when Alfred Garvin became warden and in June, 1892, Henry Wolfer was appointed his successor, he held the office until December, 1899, when General C. McC. Reeve superseded him. General Reeve was warden until March, 1901, when the present incumbent (1907) Mr. Wolfer was re-appointed.

The convict labor was contracted in the early seventies by Seymour, Sabin and Company, in 1882 it was transferred to the Northwestern Manufacturing and Car Company, the price being forty-five cents per day besides $500 annual rent for shops and grounds, the contract expired April 1, 1890, but was by an act of Legislature terminated September 1, 1888. The Legislature the following year passed a reorganization act creating a Board of Managers to be comprised of one person from each Congressional District, also that there should be no further leasing of the labor of the prisoners at a certain price per diem, but that they should be employed by the warden under rules and regulations established by the new board. The reward for good conduct was enlarged as follows; on entering the prison five days for each month, after one year seven days, two years nine days, after three years ten days with a money consideration of ten cents for every day that was deducted from the prisoner's term of service. The Legislature of 1895 repealed the act prohibiting the leasing of prison labor also the per diem earnings of the prisoners but provided that the sum of twenty-five dollars be paid to each inmate on his discharge.

As soon as lawful under the act a contract was entered into between the Board of Managers and the Union Shoe and Leather Company, the latter agreeing to pay a fixed price per pair for prisoners engaged in the manufacture of boots and shoes. The labor of the prison thus becomes divided into two systems, the "State Account System" which carries on the manufacture of twine; which during the biennial period ending August 1, 1906, the product of the 210 inmates engaged in this enterprise amounted to 24,900,115 pounds, having a money valuation of $2,360,194.08, and paying to the State a profit of $409,-452.87; besides causing a saving to the farmers of the State, to

whom it was sold direct, of $734,973.45. The "Piece Price System" furnishes a healthy and instructive system of labor and gives employment to over 225 inmates in the manufacture of shoes the year around, the per diem earnings being larger than any other prison in the country. Convict labor is also employed in every department of the institution; these industries have made the prison self-supporting.

The cell capacity of the prison was increased in 1884 by the construction of two cross sections, it was further enlarged in 1890 when 144 were added making a total of 579 cells. In 1889 a commodious hospital was built.

The increase of the population of the State has necessitated the building of a larger and more modern prison, the enclosed area has therefore been increased to thirty-nine and one-half acres. A new site consisting of about 160 acres has been purchased, the latter located at Oak Park, South Stillwater.

In the management and discipline of the prisoners only the most modern and approved methods are employed; a grade and merit system is established where a prisoner can by good conduct mitigate his punishment and receive certain privileges. An opportunity is furnished every prisoner to lay the foundation of a good education, a night school being conducted for ten months of the year three evenings each week. That cleanliness is essential to health and happiness is one of the standard rules of the institution. A weekly newspaper "The Prison Mirror" is published and edited by the inmates, and a well selected library of 6,000 volumes is freely circulated among the prisoners. Under the parole system the convict by his personal efforts shortens the period of his servitude but the State does not however relinquish control of the prisoner until the full term of service has expired. The discipline is less rigid than that in some State prisons but breaches of rules for maintaining order and regularity are infrequent; the management believing that the convict that obeys the regulations and performs the work assigned him suffers enough degradation. The population of the prison January 1, 1901, was 688 males and ten females.

MINNESOTA TRAINING SCHOOL FOR BOYS AND GIRLS.

The act establishing The House of Refuge was passed by the Legislature in 1866, the object being to provide an institution for males under sixteen years of age and females under fifteen years; of incorrigable and vicious guilty conduct. The age limit was afterwards changed, children committed were to be between eight and seventeen years, but were to remain under the guardianship of the institution until they were twenty-one years old. A parole system has been established based on exemplary conduct which makes it possible for an inmate to become eligible for parole in twelve months, the average term of detention however is eighteen months.

The act of 1866 was found to have some imperfections and after its amendment by the next Legislature the Governor appointed William Markoe, S. J. R. McMillan, J. G. Riheldaffer and A. T. Hale as a Board of Managers to aid in the administration of the law governing the institution. Before the organization of the board Mr. Markoe resigned and D. W. Ingersoll was appointed in his place. The board was authorized to secure an eligible site located in Ramsey County, as the city of St. Paul had agreed to furnish $5,000 of the $10,000 appropriated by the State. In November, 1867, there was purchased thirty acres of land on the old St. Paul and St. Anthony road on which a building was erected. The institution was opened for inmates January 1, 1868, and the Legislature of that year changed the name to The Minnesota State Reform School, vesting the ownership of the property in the State. An additional thirty-three acres of land was purchased in 1870.

Mr. Hale on account of ill health resigned from the Board of Managers and C. H. Pettit was appointed in his place, J. H. Riheldaffer having been chosen superintendent the vacancy in the board was filled by the appointment of George L. Otis. In 1876 William P. Murray was appointed a member of the board on account of the resignation of S. J. R. McMillan.

The property was improved in 1877 by the drilling of a well that supplied abundant water, the construction of a workshop, also a laundry to replace one destroyed by fire, besides an engine house equipped with two steel boilers which not only furnished heat for the buildings but propelled the machinery for the workshops. The State's investment in 1889 amounted to $95,554.96. The crowded condition of the school and the site having been added to the corporate limits of St. Paul, the Board of Managers secured the passage of a law appointing a commission to sell the property and secure a new location. Subsequently the land was platted and named "The D. W. Ingersoll Addition to St. Paul," as a compliment to the first president of the board, who had given his time and ability for twenty years to further the interests of the institution. The commissioners reported in June, 1890, that lots had been sold up to that time amounting to $200,590, the balance being appraised at $165,000.

A new site of almost 450 acres costing $17,377.25 was selected about two miles east of the central part of Red Wing, upon this location has been built an administration building with a boys dining hall and kitchen attached, three cottages, a power house, cold storage plant, barn, greenhouses, and a building for the girls department at an expense of $289,037.11.

The name of the institution was changed to its present title by the Legislature of 1895. The school is organized on what is known as the "open family plan," the inmates according to their age and sex are divided into families of fifty to seventy-five in charge of a manager, teacher and housekeeper. The boys besides acquiring a common school education are taught carpentry, blacksmithing, laundering, tailoring, printing, shoemaking, painting, cooking, floriculture, besides being employed on the farm and garden.

The girls are employed in sewing, knitting, cooking, laundering, general housework, besides having a large garden and charge of the poultry. The smaller boys take the regular sloyd course. Each family of the boys department is organized as a military company, a captain, two lieutenants and five sergeants

being appointed cadet officers. Military drill and the setting-up exercises as prescribed in the regular army are carried on. Music is taught to some extent, a band is maintained in the boys department and an orchestra in the girls department. The superintendent of institution have been J. G. Riheldaffer, J. W. Brown and the present incumbent F. A. Whittier.

MINNESOTA STATE REFORMATORY.

This institution was first intended as a second state prison but in accordance with an act of the Legislature of 1887, it was organized as an intermediate correctional reformatory between the state prison and the training school. The object was to provide a place for first offenders in felony, from sixteen to thirty years of age, where under favorable circumstances by discipline and education to form such habits as would ultimately make them law abiding citizens.

A site consisting of 240 acres of which twenty-two were enclosed by a sixteen foot wall, was selected near St. Cloud. It included a granite quarry, the idea being to furnish employment for a number of the inmates in preparing stone for the building. There is a farm of 650 acres which is cultivated by the inmates and furnishes a large part of the vegetables, meats, etc., for the institution.

The Reformatory was opened in the latter part of 1889 with one hundred prisoners, seventy-five of this number being under thirty years of age, being transferred from the state prison. The majority of those confined at the institution are growing boys, hearty eaters, hard on clothes, mostly undisciplined to labor; therefore the reformatory is not self-supporting. The object however is reformation so honest labor is required every day from each inmate, various trades are taught and educational facilities are offered so that on completion of their term of service they are fitted to earn an honest and independent livelihood. The present superintendent (1908) is Frank L. Randall.

MINNESOTA INSTITUTE FOR DEFECTIVES.

The Territorial Legislature early turned its attention to the establishing of an institution for the detention of lawbreakers, but no provision was made by that body to educate or furnish schools or asylums for those that were affected by fatuous minds or deficient in senses that constitute a healthy individual.

At the first session of the State Legislature an act was passed to establish a childrens asylum for the education of deaf mutes. The town of Faribault was designated for the site, providing the citizens would give forty acres of land for the use and benefit of the institution. The land was donated but it was not until 1863 that the school was opened in an old basswood house on First Street known as Fowler's store. The Legislature in that year authorized the board of directors to receive and educate blind children with the deaf and dumb. Embarrasments and inconsistencies arising from educating these two classes of defectives together, the Legislature in 1868 having made an appropriation for the erection of a building provided in 1873 that it should be enlarged by an addition of a wing and provision made for separate classes and quarters for the afflicted children. In 1886 the attention of the board of directors was called to the fact that children were finding their way into the classes of the deaf, dumb and blind, who were destitute of mental faculties requisite to receive the education given; and in 1877 there arose a necessity for a special provision for these unfortunates. The State Board of Health endorsed the idea, also officers of the hospitals for the insane reported that many idiotic and feeble minded persons were sent to them for want of a more suitable place.

This concurrent movement caused the Legislature of 1879 to create a commission who were authorized to select from the patients at the state insane hospitals such children as were feeble minded or idiotic and assign them to the care of the Faribault institution. A large frame building about half a mile south of the school for the blind and dumb was rented, and an experi-

mental school was organized by a noted specialist, Dr. H. M. Knight of Connecticut.

The Legislature of 1887 reorganized the Minnesota Deaf, Dumb and Blind Institute, changing the name to The Minnesota Institute for Defectives, consisting of three departments, to-wit: The School for the Deaf, The School for the Blind and the School for the Feeble Minded, to be controlled by a board of five directors, also to include the governor and superintendent of public instruction as ex-officio members. This in brief is the genesis of the three state schools located at Faribault.

The first superintendent of the state school was R. H. Kinney, after serving three years he was succeeded by J. L. Noyes, under his administration the other two departments were established and organized. In May, 1881, under the re-organization act Superintendent Noyes retired from any official connection with the other departments, thereafter devoted himself exclusively to the interests of the deaf and dumb school. He resigned in June, 1896, on account of impaired health and J. N. Tate, the present superintendent, was elected to fill the vacancy. The schools and industrial classes are well organized, speech, lip-reading and drawing are taught, besides every deaf child is given instruction in articulation. The duties of the inmates, the proper age for admission being between eight and twenty-five years, is divided between industrial work, school exercises and recreation. The school has seventy acres of excellent land, beautifully situated, on which are suitable buildings.

The School for the Blind is located about one mile south from the School for the Deaf, new buildings were erected on the site in 1874, a removal being necessary on account of the incompatibility of the two classes. At the time of the re-organization of the internal administration in 1882, James J. Dow, who had been principal of the school since 1875, was appointed superintendent which office he still holds. In 1887 in the re-organization of the institute, this department became legally known as the School for the Blind. The school is free to all blind children and youths; to whom free board, care and tuition are furnished. It is well equipped, with modern special appli-

ances, also a library of nearly 1,500 raised print volumes. The course of study embraces a period of seven years beginning with the kindergarten and ending with ordinary studies of English classes in the high school, A specialty is made of musical instruction and industrial training such as broom-making, hammock weaving, bead work and sewing.

The nominal supervision of the department for feeble minded children, until 1882 rested with the superintendent of the School for the Deaf. Dr. George H. Knight was in charge as acting superintendent, upon the re-organization of the institute he became superintendent; he resigned in 1885 and Dr. A. C. Rogers, the present incumbent, was appointed in his place. The present main building of blue limestone was erected in 1881 at the cost of $230,000. There are two custodial brick buildings, "Sunnyside" providing a home for the boys, and "Skinner Hall," named in memory of the late George E. Skinner, for many years a member of the board of directors, affords accommodation for the girls; between these two halls in the center of the building are located the administration rooms, assembly hall, school, industrial rooms, dining rooms, kitchen, etc.

The institution has an epileptic department consisting of two cottages for males, each accommodating thirty patients, and two dormitory cottages for females, accommodating fifty patients each, also a detached hospital building containing sixty beds, equipped with all the modern scientific conveniences.

A colony of boys are located one-half mile from the main building engaged in farming, gardening and dairying. The school performs the functions of a school, a home and a hospital, therefore is divided into three departments distinct in their nature yet mutually connected. (1) School and Farming Department. (2) Custodia or Home. (3) Epileptic Hospital, in fact there has been added to its title "Colony of Epileptics."

ST. PETER STATE HOSPITAL.

The Legislature at its session in 1866 passed an act establishing The Minnesota Hospital for the Insane, and appointed

commissioners to fix its location. The citizens of St. Peter generously presented the State with a farm of 210 acres one mile south of the city; the Legislature appropriated $15,000 for temporary provision and support of the insane. The next Legislature appropriated $40,000 for permanent buildings. In October, 1866, patients, previously boarded at a hospital in Iowa, were removed to temporary quarters. Dr. Samuel E. Shantz of Utica, New York, was elected Medical Superintendent; his death occurring in August, 1868, Dr. C. K. Bartlett of Northampton, Massachusetts, was appointed his successor. Appropriations were made from year to year, a four story hospital building of hammered limestone, with two wings of three stories each, was erected besides a temporary laundry, and engine house, gas house, etc.

About seven o'clock on the evening of November 15, 1880, a fire was discovered in the basement of the north wing, occupied by the male patients, the progress of the flames was rapid, the halls were soon filled with dense smoke, the patients were removed with great difficulty, the next morning forty-four were missing, several were returned from the neighborhood the number finally being reduced to twenty-four, the remains of whom were believed to have been found in the ruins. Several deaths occurred after the fire on account of injuries and exposure. The Legislature in 1881 appropriated $105,000 to replace the burnt wing with a fireproof structure. For better protection against fires a steam pump with a capacity of 450 gallons a minute and a reservoir 160 feet above the basement floor containing 135,000 gallons, connected with fifteen hydrants at convenient points, was installed.

Dr. Bartlett was succeeded on January 1, 1893, by Dr. Harry A. Tomlinson, the present incumbent. In March, 1900, the laundry building, which was also used for a dormitory for outside employes, was destroyed by fire.

The grounds about the institution are a model of landscape gardening, extensive lawns, ornamental shrubbery and numerous flower beds lend attraction and harmony to the buildings. A farm of 1,000 acres supplies the hospital with vegetables besides feed for a herd of milch cows and horses, besides furnishing con-

genial employment for a number of patients. Some sort of occupation is found for all who are able to do anything, the laundry, greenhouses, tailor shops, carpenter shop, sewing room and kitchen are only a few of the industrial opportunities.

ROCHESTER STATE HOSPITAL.

The Legislature of 1874 by a special law provided for the establishment of a State Inebriate Asylum levying a yearly tax of ten dollars on each liquor dealer in the State, to raise a fund to maintain the institution. Soon as a sufficient fund was accumulated The Inebriate Asylum Board purchased for $9,000 a farm of 160 acres within one mile and a half of the city of Rochester, secured plans and in 1877 began a building.

Strong opposition was raised by liquor dealers against the tax claiming it to be discriminating and unjust and though test cases were tried in the courts the law was declared to be constitutional. Successive legislatures were importuned to repeal the act, and it becoming apparent there was more need for accommodations for the rapidly increasing insane than for inebriates, the Legislature of 1878 repealed the act levying the tax and changed the title of the institution to the Second Minnesota Hospital for the Insane, with a proviso however that inebriates should be admitted into the institution at the expense of the State on the same basis as the insane.

The board of trustees of the insane asylum examined the property in the summer of 1878 and after a further appropriation being made of $15,000 to complete the buildings accepted the transfer, and on January 1, 1879, it was opened for patients; Dr. J. E. Bowers being its first medical superintendent. The Legislature of 1880 granted $20,000 for the erection of a wing to the main building which was just ready for occupancy when the fire occurred at St. Peter and one hundred female patients were transferred to relieve that institution's crowded condition. Various appropriations for building purposes were granted by different legislatures so that the institution was enabled in 1888

VIEWS IN THE INTER-STATE PARK.

Folsom's Cascade. Giant's Kettle or Pot Hole. Looking Down the Dalles.
Drunkard's Rock. Sentinel or Old Man of the Dalles.

to care for one thousand patients. The hospital farm comprises 515 acres, is divided into arable lands and pasturage.

The present medical superintendent Dr. Arthur F. Kilbourne succeeded Dr. Bowers.

FERGUS FALLS STATE HOSPITAL.

This institution was first known under the title of the Third Hospital for the Insane, afterwards as Fergus Falls Hospital for Insane.

The commission to establish a third hospital was created by the Legislature of 1885 the act calling for its location in the northern part of the State. Several propositions were submitted by important towns in the section designated but the Legislature of 1887 accepted the proposal from the citizens of Fergus Falls. The State received the title to 636 acres and $94,280 was appropriated for the purchase of land and for building purposes. The next Legislature granted an additional $65,000.

The hospital was opened July 29, 1890, with eighty patients transferred from the hospital at St. Peter. Dr. A. P. Williamson was the first medical superintendent; he resigned in 1892 and was succeeded by Dr. George O. Welch, the present incumbent. The contemplated buildings of the original plan were completed in 1900, the normal capacity of the institution being 1,300 patients. The total valuation of the property is approximated at $1,000,000.

THE STATE ASYLUMS.

The crowded condition of the three hospitals for the insane agitated in 1899 the question of creating another institution, the matter being brought before the Legislature of that year, resulted in a compromise and the establishment of two asylums.

The First State Asylum was located on the banks of the Rum River in the city of Anoka on a farm of 648 acres, divided into cultivated fields, meadows and woodland. The institution was opened March 14, 1900, under the superintendence of John

Coleman, the present incumbent, one hundred patients being transferred from the St. Peter State Hospital.

The Second State Asylum was located on the Vermillion River about two miles south of Hastings. A farm of 645 acres was purchased of which about 200 acres are woodland, the balance being under a high state of cultivation. The institution was opened April 26, 1900, under the superintendency of William J. Yanz, the present incumbent, at which time one hundred patients were transferred from the Rochester State Asylum.

STATE PUBLIC SCHOOL FOR DEPENDENT AND NEGLECTED CHILDREN.

Through the recommendation of Governor Hubbard the twenty-fourth session of the Legislature passed an act to establish a state school for children over three and under fourteen years of age, dependent and neglected, of suitable condition of body and mind.

The site selected was 160 acres of farm lands in the valley of the Straight River overlooking and adjoining the city of Owatonna. Galen A. Merrill, the present superintendent, was elected October 1, 1886, he had been connected with an institution of like character in Michigan.

On the following second day of December, children were admitted as pupils. The school which is a temporary home for the inmates, is operated on the cottage plan, divided into families of twenty-five to thirty members, occupying separate dwellings in charge of intelligent women, who give their charge motherly care. The meals are served in a common dining room, each family having a separate table. The children are absolutely free from a taint of crime by their admission to the institution, their detention is of so short duration, the average being ten months, that no attempt is made to teach them any definite trade.

The State Agency is an important adjunct to the school in procuring permanent homes for the children, every application is personally investigated and the indenture contracts for adoption

entered into by the foster parents are rigidly enforced. The State in 1879 purchased an additional eighty acres of land lying half a mile from the original tract donated by the citizens of Owatonna. The present buildings are thirteen in number and including the land improvements represent a value of $265,780.99.

THE MINNESOTA SOLDIERS' HOME.

The location of this institution is at the historic point of Minnehaha Falls, on a beautiful tract of fifty-one acres of woodland donated by the city of Minneapolis. The law providing for its incorporation constitutes Chapter 148 General Laws of Minnesota for 1887. The object was to provide a home for all honorably discharged ex-sailors, ex-soldiers, sailors and marines who had served in the army or navy of the United States during the Mexican, and Civil Wars, to which was afterwards added the Spanish-American War, who were or might become citizens of the State and by reason of wounds, disease, old age or infirmities were not self-supporting.

A temporary home was established in November, 1887, in a vacant building directly opposite the accepted site, and on the completion of two brick cottages on January 1, 1889, the inmates were removed to their permanent quarters. The city of Minneapolis in 1889 obtained a title to the State park of 150 acres adjoining the fifty-one acres, donated upon the condition of maintaining the same forever as a park to be known as "Minnehaha State Park." This park is for all practical purposes an extension of the domain of the Home and gives in one body 200 acres of wooded land bordering on nearly a mile of bluff on the river shore, it also includes the Falls of Minnehaha and all the wild and deep gorge of Minnehaha Creek from above the falls to its mouth on the Mississippi.

The Legislatures of 1889 and 1891 appropriated $155,000 for permanent buildings which have been erected on a systematic plan of general uniform architectural design, and are heated by steam and lighted by electricity.

The board of trustees which consists of seven members appointed by the Governor, of whom not more than four can be members of the same political party, were authorized to receive into the Home, wives, widows and mothers of those males eligible for admission, if over forty-five years of age and residents five years of the State, before making application, providing that a wife was married to her soldier husband prior to 1890. These inmates occupy what is known as the "Old Folk's Building" which is located on the same terrace as the garden, which supplies a large quantity of vegetables for the use of the Home. On the second or middle terrace are the permanent structures except the hospital and morgue, which are at the extreme bluff of the lower terrace.

The expense for maintaining the Soldiers' Home are paid from the "home support fund" in the State treasury. This fund consists (1) of an annual appropriation of $40,000 for the year ending July 1, 1906, and $50,000 for the year ending July 1, 1907. (2) the per capita allowance from the United States Government of $100 a year for each member of the home (average present) not including those who served in the Indian wars or women.

The Commandants of the Home have been Captain Thomas McMillan and Captain James Compton.

STATE BOARD OF CONTROL.

The charitable and correctional institutions of the State previous to 1901 were under the charge of various boards of directors, trustees or managers; the State Board of Corrections and Charities created in 1883 had the investigation and compiling of the statistics of the whole system.

By an act of Legislature of 1901 a Board of Control was created consisting of three members to be appointed by the Governor, whose duties are prescribed by law. It has general supervision over the State Hospitals and Asylums for the Insane, the School for Feeble Minded and Colony for Epileptics at Faribault, the State Training School, the State Reformatory and the

State Prison, and financial supervision of the State Public School at Owatonna, of the School for the Blind and School for the Deaf at Faribault. Its duties include the purchase of all supplies and equipment for the above institutions and the supervision of the construction and repair of buildings.

In addition to the general control of the above named institutions, this board is charged with full authority in all matters of the State University and the State Normal Schools relating to the erection and construction of new buildings, the purchasing of fuel and the placing of insurance on buildings and contents. It is also charged with the purchase of supplies and fuel for the State Capitol and the placing of insurance on all State buildings except the Soldiers' Home. The State Board of Control also has charge of the examination and approval of plans for jails and lockups, the inspection and condemnation of jails and lockups, the deportation of non-resident dependends, the regulation of the importation of juvenile dependents; and the further duty of passing upon applications for paroles and discharges from the State Reformatory, the paroling of prisoners from the State Prison, and the paroling and discharge of inmates from the State Training School, as well as the general supervision of all paroled inmates of the three last named institutions.

The board has expended during the biennial period closing July 31, 1906, for the maintenance of the twelve institutions under its general and financial control the sum of $2,416,580.00, and for repairs and the erection of new buildings at these institutions $662,835. In addition to these expenditures contracts have been awarded amounting to $771,152 for the construction of new buildings at the Normal Schools and the State University.

Land located near Walker had been purchased for a site for a Sanitarium for Consumptives.

At the close of the biennial period of 1906 there were in the several institutions 6,767 inmates as follows, in the insane hospitals and asylums 4,183, School for Feeble Minded 1,048, State Public School 198, State Training School 348, State Reformatory 300, State Prison 690, at the School for the Deaf 263 and at the School for the Blind 83.

STATE PARKS.

That Minnesota is rich in a wealth of beautiful scenery is attested by the fact that she has withstood the onslaughts of the divester for more than sixty years, or since her trees were first felled for commercial purposes by Joseph R. Brown, at Taylor's Falls, in 1837.

In 1838 Henry M. Rice came to Fort Snelling. Ten years later he formed a partnership in dealing in St. Paul realty with John R. Irvine, and in platting additions to the town Rice Park and Irvine Park were dedicated and named for the donors. These were the first public parks in Minnesota. Soon after their dedication Smith Park was established in Whitney and Smith's Addition to St. Paul. Rice and Irvine Parks will ever remain as monuments to Henry M. Rice's marked public spirit, a characteristic which abode with him throughout his long and useful life.

April 20, 1891, the Legislative act creating Itasca Park, the first distinctive State park, went into effect. The tract comprised 19,702 acres about the head and source of the Mississippi, and 8,823 acres of this area were owned by individuals. The government survey of the region embracing the park was made by General James H. Baker, in 1875. The real author of the scheme for Itasca Park was the late Jacob V. Brower, of St. Cloud, although the Minnesota Historical Society largely aided in its accomplishment, and the Legislature has made regular annual appropriations of $5,000 for the general care and improvement of this splendid and picturesque resort.

The creation of Itasca Park was a pioneer movement in Minnesota along the lines of forest preservation and the protections of streams. The State is following the lead of certain Eastern states in the matter of re-forestry, but leading them in the preservation of the natural timber tracts. It is estimated that the amount of fine white pine timber in Itasca Park alone exceeds 40,000,000 feet.

DAM AT TAYLOR'S FALLS.

Minneapolis Electric Light Company.

The second State park created in Minnesota, and which was the first inter-state park in the United States, is the Inter-State Park Dalles of the St. Croix, at St. Croix Falls, Wisconsin, and Taylor's Falls, Minnesota. This is an important historical locality. There are the ruins of nine old building foundations on the plateau below the Dalles, on the Minnesota side, indicating that some of the earliest visitors to the country had their habitations here at one time.

The author of the project for the establishment of the Inter-State Park was George H. Hazzard, long a well-known resident of St. Paul. There is no record that any other attempt to create this beautiful and unique tract as a place of public resort was made prior to 1895 when he started the movement. It was he who led the efforts to have the states of Wisconsin and Minnesota secure and devote the land at the proper site, along this respective shores of the St. Croix, for the Inter-State Park. The work was difficult but it was successful. The lands were acquired, and since then the Federal Government has made a topographical survey of the locality, and also improved the St. Croix River; the Northern Pacific Railway Company has built a fine depot on the grounds, and public appropriations aggregating about $75,000 have been made and expended for the improvement and proper preservation of the park. Mr. Hazzard was the first superintendent of the park and through his efforts and exertions the noted locality became famous.

The Inter-State Park has been the theme of many of the noted descriptive writers of the country, and the subject of numerous publications. The successive editors of the Minnesota Legislative Manual—commonly called the Blue Book—from 1895, have always contained references, in text and illustrations, of the marvelous public grounds at the St. Croix Dalles. The tourist, the investigator, the practical man, and the scientist have all found in them ample subjects for interesting and profitable investigation.

The park is thirty miles up the St. Croix from Stillwater and fifty miles northeast from the Twin Cities. It is therefore easy of access. No picture can be drawn or description made

that will properly present it to one who has never seen it. It must be personally visited and examined to be appreciated. It contains trap rock at its best; water in all conditions; picturesque, restful, and inspiring landscapes; some most wonderful geological features, and one writer says it is "destined to be known as the glacier garden of the world;" more varieties of plant life than are to be found in any similar locality in the United States, for here are nearly all of the flowers, ferns, vines, shrubs and trees of northern latitudes, as well as many specimens of the flora of southern regions. One noted growth is that of the cactus moss, which is found on the rocks of the Dalles.

A peculiar feature of rocks is the series of depressions or cavities in them known as pot-holes, or "giants' kettles." There are more than one hundred of these holes, or wells, as they are sometimes called, along from the bridge to the levee. Some of them are of extraordinary depth, and fragments or portions of the ancient drift deposits are found in them. Four different kinds of these deposits have been taken from the same well, viz: gray, which presumably came from the valley of Red River of the North; red, probably from the Lake Superior region; blue and conglomerate from other localities. The origin and development of these "pot-holes," have often been the subject of theory, speculation, and argument by scientists.

For some time in a beautiful little grotto in the park was a clear spring of ice cold water, which was always admired and commonly enjoyed by visitors. Some hundreds of feet laterally away and thirty feet above the spring was, for a long period a large pool of water formed by rains and melting snows. It became necessary in improving the park, to drain off the water in the pool and fill it up. After this was done the little ice spring disappeared to the general regret. Its origin and source became apparent, but previous to the destruction of the pool there had been diverse theories advanced to account for it.

The third Minnesota State Park, Minneopa Falls, named for the beautiful cascade near Mankato, has been recently secured to the public. The double waterfall—formerly called by the Indians "Minne Nompa," or two waters—is the leading fea-

ture of this park, but by no means its only charm. The improvement of this romantic and attractive public ground has scarcely been begun, but will receive due attention in time. The Minneopa Park owes its existence in part to the notoriety given the Inter-State Park. The many printed descriptions of the latter named, preserve its beauties and delights, inspired many persons throughout the Northwest to properly care for the naturally beautiful tracts in their immediate localities. Not only have public parks been created through an inspiration created by the Inter-State Park, but many private grounds have been improved through the same influence.

Chapter XXXIII.

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

IT was through the active exertions of the first secretary of the Territory, Charles K. Smith, that the Minnesota Historical Society was promoted and established. The historical instinct was most likely indoctrinated into Secretary Smith before his coming to the Territory. He was originally a resident of Hamilton, Ohio, and the young men of his age living in the interior and western part of that state were enthused by the writings and lectures of the learned antiquarian and historian, Caleb Atwater, who had emigrated from Massachusetts and settled at Circleville, Ohio.

The society was incorporated at the first session of the Territorial Legislature, the charter being approved by the Governor October 20, 1849, and named as incorporators: Charles K. Smith, David Olmsted, H. H. Sibley, Aaron Goodrich, David Cooper, B. B. Meeker, A. M. Mitchell, T. R. Potts, J. C. Ramsey, H. M. Rice, Franklin Steele, Charles W. Borup, D. B. Loomis, M. S. Wilkinson, L. A. Babcock, Henry Jackson, W. D. Phillips, William H. Forbes and Martin McLeod.

None of the incorporators were consulted in obtaining the act of incorporation which consisted of only two sections as it was deemed there would be no objections raised as no apparent responsibilities were incurred. The society was formarly organized in the office of Secretary Smith, located in the southeast corner room of Robert Kennedy's log tavern on Bench Street, St. Paul.

The organization of the society was completed by electing Alexander Ramsey, president; David Olmsted and Martin McLeod, vice presidents; William H. Forbes, treasurer; and Charles K. Smith, secretary. A committee was appointed to draft a constitution and by-laws and to report at the first annual meeting to be held on the second Monday in January, 1850.

The services of Rev. Edward D. Neill were enlisted in behalf of the society, and at a meeting held January 1, 1850, in the Methodist Church on Market Street, St. Paul, he delivered an address the subject of which was "The French Voyageurs to Minnesota during the Seventeenth Century." This address was the first of a series of interesting and instructive historical contributions delivered by the same reverend gentleman, which were published and widely distributed and were the means of introducing the society to many scholars and historians.

The first annual meeting was held at the stated time in Secretary Smith's office. The attendance secured was eight persons, four of whom were incorporators the others being young lawyers who had plenty of leisure time from the duties of their profession. The constitution and by-laws were adopted article by article, and the names of one hundred twenty-two persons were appended embracing nearly every white man in the Territory, who by article ten of the by-laws were expected to pay the initiation fee of a dollar and sign the constitution before participating in the business of the society. The constitution also provided that officers five in number should constitute an executive council having charge of the affairs of the society, and that three according to the by-laws should constitute a quorum.

A second annual meeting of the society was held at the Methodist Episcopal Church, St. Paul, January 12, 1851. Subsequently at an adjourned meeting held January 29, in the Council Chamber of a brick building known as the Rice House on Third Street, the society adopted a resolution pledging its aid for the publication of a "Dakota Lexicon," by Rev. S. R. Riggs. In the summer of the following year the work was published by the Smithsonian Institution under the patronage of the Historical Society. This unique publication and its distribution among

colleges, libraries and historical societies was the means of securing many valuable exchanges and donations for the society's library.

The retirement of Charles K. Smith from the office of Territorial secretary caused a vacancy in the office of secretary of the society which was filled November 18, 1851, by the election of the Rev. Edward D. Neill a position he continued to hold for twelve years.

The third annual meeting of the society was held January 19, 1852, in the Methodist Church, St. Paul, the address being delivered by Lieutenant J. H. Simpson. The next year the society met on February 7, in the hall of the House of Representatives in the Capitol. The records of this meeting contain the earliest mention of a library a vote of thanks being tendered to H. S. Geyer of Missouri, for his donation of books. At the annual meeting of 1854 a committee was appointed for the purpose of securing a room in the Capitol for the use of the society, but there is no mention in the records of its obtaining any such location until November 27, 1855, when the society "met for the first time in the hall set apart in the Capitol for its use, and which was properly furnished with shelves for the reception of books and other documents." At this meeting Theodore French was elected assistant secretary, and Richard Walker assistant librarian.

Among the early and zealous friends of the society was Daniel A. Robertson of St. Paul, founder of the *Minnesota Democrat*. Though a native of Nova Scotia he originally came from Ohio to Minnesota. He deplored the impecunious condition of the society whose meetings were held in offices or rooms of its members, and whose freight bills and postage expenses were met by personal solicitiation. Mainly by his persistent application a room was secured in the Capitol for the temporary use of the society its occupancy being subject to the will of State officials. Mr. Robertson set about the task to collect money for the purchase of land and erect thereon a suitable fireproof building to preserve the society's valuable accumulations which were stored on sufferance wherever rents were not demanded. At the

annual meeting of 1856 he reported the sale of sixty-two life memberships at twenty-five dollars each and was instructed to purchase from Vetal Guerin, for $1,500 two lots on the corner of what is now Wabasha and Tenth Streets, St. Paul. The site was subsequently purchased and a committee appointed at the annual meeting made elaborate arrangements for laying the corner stone of the proposed building. This event took place June 24, 1856, and a grand parade and ceremony was inaugurated it being expected that favorable attention would thus be drawn to the building proposition, and aid in securing liberal subscription from individuals, also that the Legislature would be induced to contribute to the fund.

A procession was formed at the Winslow House on the corner of Fort and Eagle Streets and marched to the proposed site preceded by a band and accompanied by Sherman's Battery from Fort Snelling. Addresses were delivered by George L. Becker, then mayor of St. Paul, and Lieutenant M. F. Maury of the United States Coast Survey. The corner stone was laid with Masonic ceremonies, and there it has laid awaiting the superstructive for half a century.

The financial storm of 1857 made life memberships unsaleable; the conditional subscriptions for $15,000 for the erection of the building stopped, some were withdrawn, others were expected to be withdrawn; the Legislature declined to make any appropriation and Mr. Robertson abandoned the undertaking and sought Europe for rest and recreation.

During the year 1856, two meetings of the society were held in the Baldwin school-house; about this time the room at the Capitol was demanded for the use of the State Auditor, and the executive council rented a small room adjoining the St. Paul Library in the Ingersoll Block at the southeast corner of Third and Wabasha Streets. William H. Kelley was appointed actuary to arrange and classify the collection of the society. The growth of the society was retarded at this time by the unsettled condition of public affairs. It had enjoyed since 1856 a legislative annual appropriation of $500, but by the statutes of 1866, this was repealed.

At a special meeting of the society held December 26, 1863, Edward D. Neill resigned his secretaryship and William H. Kelley was appointed to fill the vacancy for the unexpired term. On February 19, 1864, Charles E. Mayo, was elected secretary, filling the position three years. Secretary Mayo's successor was John Fletcher Williams, who was first elected to the position January 21, 1867.

The new secretary had been identified with newspaper work in St. Paul since his coming to the city in 1855, and had acquired a reputation on account of his articles on the history of Minnesota and for biographical notices of the early pioneers. During the first year of his secretaryship he was still engaged in the laborious and exacting duties of city reporter for one of the daily newspapers of St. Paul, and had but little leisure for the actual work of the society. By his personal solicitations, however, the membership was largely increased and valuable donations received. He constantly kept before the public by frequent mention in the daily journals the objects and work of the society, and in that year the purchase of books for the library began, which has been systematically kept up ever since. These efforts increased the needful work of the society and Mr. William's labors became so burdensome he felt compelled to in justice to his regular occupation to resign as secretary of the society. The members were so solicitious that he should remain that by their efforts the State Legislature was persuaded to grant the society an annual appropriation of $2,000. This was the commencement of the liberal patronage on the part of the State which has enabled the society to achieve the remarkable success which has characterized its recent history. Mr. Williams accordingly withdrew from journalism in April, 1869, and thenceforward devoted himself entirely to the duties of secretary and librarian for the society.

The basement of the capitol building was furnished for the use of the society and the executive council met for the first time in their new quarters November 9, 1868. At a meeting held March 8, 1875, Henry P. Upham was elected a member of the executive council and recognizing his qualifications for the

office the society shortly afterwards elected him treasurer, a position which he has continued to hold without any interruption to the present time.

The only incident that has marred the harmony of the society was a resolution offered by Judge Aaron Goodrich at an executive council meeting held November 13, 1876. The resolution provided that no permit for the occupation of the grounds belonging to the society should be granted. A resolution offered by General John B. Sanborn had been adopted by vote of seven to three requiring the officers to so lease and manage the real estate of the society as to secure the largest income therefrom.

At the next meeting, December 11, 1876, Judge Goodrich offered the following resolution: Resolved, "that the resolution offered by General Sanborn and adopted at the last meeting of the council, relative to the leasing of grounds belonging to the society be expunged from the records, the same having been adopted in violation of the laws of the society." This resolution was voted down by a vote of ten to four and was the commencement of the "unpleasantness" inaugurated by Judge Goodrich the Supreme Court being called upon to pass judgment in the matter.

The charter of the Historical Society was modeled on the charter granted to the New York Historical Society which constituted certain persons whose names are mentioned. "And their associates," a body corporate and politic. Governor Ramsey who became the first president of the Minnesota Historical Society, which office he filled for fifteen years and other persons who for more than a quarter of a century had been elected his associates and who had contributed to the treasury and to the printed collections of the society, were not named in the charter.

Eleven of the members whose names appeared in the charter having died, five of the survivors met on May 11, 1877, at the office of Henry H. Sibley and elected eleven persons as corporators to fill the vacancies and claimed to be the Historical Society and filed a record of their proceedings with the Secretary of State. This action if legal, would disqualify most of

the valuable members from taking part in the business meetings and transactions of the society. Therefore an unpleasant controversy arose and the Legislature of 1878 in making the annual appropriation to the society, enacted that none of it should be drawn from the State treasury until a competent tribunal decided who were the rightful custodians and managers of the trust and assets of the society. The executive council thereupon in the name of the State caused a *quo warranto* to be issued against Henry H. Sibley, Aaron Goodrich and others for the determination of this question.

The Supreme Court decided that the word "Associates" was not a meaningless term as claimed by the respondents which was apparent from the language and terms of the original act. It being enacted that the nineteen persons designated and their associates were constituted a body corporate and politic by the name of "The Minnesota Historical Society, and the following significant language was used "And by that name they (the corporators and their associates) and their successors shall be, and they are hereby made capable in law to contract and be contracted with, sue and to be sued, etc." The court further held that the language of the Legislature was unequivocal, that the intention was not to form a body composing the grantees named and their successors alone but that it should consist of the grantees, their associates and successors of both these classes, and that the powers and franchises vested in the corporation should belong to it as representing for the time being the entire body of the existing members of whatever class.

By an amendatory act approved March 1, 1856, the society was to elect twenty-five of its members who were to hold office for three years and until their successors were elected and to be known as the executive council of the Historical Society. This council was to have the power of electing and appointing all officers and to be the custodian of all the society's property real and personal.

The validity of this act was attacked by the respondents on the ground that at a special meeting held soon after the passage of the act when it was adopted and the election of an

executive council took place that requisite notice of such a meeting had not been properly served upon all the members of the society. The court held the validity of the society, on the grounds that the various subsequent regular meetings and various corporate acts for over twenty years had remained unquestioned. The entire administration of the affairs of the society for that whole period had been conducted by the executive council then chosen and ever since continued under provisions of the second section of the amendatory act and without any protest from any one until quite recently. Under these circumstances there would seem to be no ground for any serious controversy on the question of acceptance.

An effort was made in January, 1879, to secure an appropriation from the Legislature of $35,000 for the erection of a building, $15,000 of conditional private subscriptions had been obtained but the Legislature failed to take action and the project was abandoned. The council on December 9, 1878, met for the first time in the new apartment specially prepared for the society in the basement of the Capitol. Here on March 1, 1881, when the building was burned the society had many of its books and other property damaged. Though the property was fully insured, many articles of value were destroyed that could not be replaced. A temporary room was secured in the basement of the Market House and on April 9, 1883, the executive council met for the first time in their new rooms in the reconstructed Capitol.

In the fall of 1893, owing to impaired health Mr. Williams was obliged to relinquish his duties as secretary and ex-Governor William R. Marshall was elected his successor. The latter was the nominal secretary of the society until March, 1895, when the present incumbent, Warren Upham, was chosen to fill the position.

According to the secretary's report for 1907, there is in the library of the society 50,288 bound and 34,818 unbound volumes. The number of bound newspaper volumes is 7,467 and the number of Minnesota newspapers, daily, weekly and monthly regularly received is 411 and twenty-seven others are received

from outside of the State. The portrait collection contains about 300 individual portraits besides forty group pictures which altogether comprises 1,500 portraits. There are also about 150 other pictures as of ancient buildings, monuments, paintings of historical scenes and many framed historical documents. The society has also alphabetically catalogued about 1,000 additional portraits of Minnesota pioneers and citizens, mostly photographs of card and cabinet sizes.

The museum contains many historical relics donated to the State, among which mention is made of a chair once owned by George Washington, the steering wheel of the old frigate Minnesota, a Spanish garrote, a large collection of Philippine weapons, an Ojibway birch canoe, and the first printing press used in Minnesota. The society's archaeological museum contains an extensive collection numbering about 23,000 pieces donated by Rev. Edward C. Mitchell, also another great collection has also been brought together by the late J. V. Brower. This material comprises a vast number of Indian relics, in total exceeding 100,000 of stone implements and weapons, bone and copper ornaments, pottery and other relics partly from the modern Indians and partly from the ancient mounds throughout Minnesota, and a large region reaching west of the Rocky Mountains and south of Kansas. These contributions give the museum a national importance surpassed by only few other archaeological collections in the country.

Chapter XXXIV.

EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM.

EARLY SCHOOLS.

THE early missionary Indian and the garrison schools have already been mentioned in this work. It was in 1847, when that worthy pioneer missionary, Dr. Thomas S. Williamson wrote to ex-Governor Slade of Vermont, president of the National Popular Educational Society, representing that in the village of St. Paul, there were thirty-six children of school age, that were deprived of the advantages of public education, and requesting that a teacher be sent them.

In his letter the good missionary stated, that he supposed a good female teacher could do more to promote the cause of education and true religion than a man; that the natural politeness of the French settlers of St. Paul, who constituted more than half of the population, would cause them to be more kind and courteous to a female even if the priest should seek to cause opposition. He particularly stated, that the teacher chosen would have to forego the comforts, neatness, and elegance of New England town life, and have no prejudices on account of color, for among her scholars, she would find not only English, French and Swiss, but Sioux and Chippewa, and some claiming kindred with African stock. He also stated, that it would be necessary for the teacher to bring books sufficient to begin school, as the nearest book store was 300 miles away.

When Governor Slade received this appeal for the introduction of public education into Minnesota, he referred the

letter to Dr. C. E. Stowe, the husband of Harriet Beecher Stowe, who forwarded it to his sister-in-law, Miss Catherine Beecher, then located at Albany, New York, training and instructing a class of young ladies for teachers. She handed the communication to Miss Harriet E. Bishop, as being a proper person to accept and fill the proposed post of duty.

The mental warfare, that must have taken place in this young lady's mind can more readily be imagined than described. To her, it meant the leaving of the cultured and refined life in the East, for a rude habitation in a rough frontier settlement. In the struggle hard and stern duty at last won over comfort and luxury, and on July 16, 1847, she landed at Kaposia, the home of Dr. Williamson, having arrived by steamer from Cincinnati.

A day or two afterwards, paddled in a canoe by two strong young squaws, she came to St. Paul, and as she expressed it: "A cheerless prospect greeted her," a few log huts composed the town and there were three American families in the population. After making arrangements to secure a school room, Miss Bishop returned to Kaposia until the building should be ready.

This pioneer teacher of Minnesota, was a native of the "Green Mountain State," about thirty years of age, an ardent member of the Baptist church and in her book of frontier experiences "Flora Homes," she manifested her willingness to do good and her love for her Saviour.

The building selected for the school house was an old log cabin ten by twelve feet, formerly used for a blacksmith shop, located on what is now the corner of Third and St. Peter Streets. Some wooden pins were driven into the logs, across which rough boards were placed for seats. The teacher was accorded the luxury of a chair, while a cross legged table occupied the center of the loose floor. The attendance was small at first, but in the fall larger accommodations became necessary, and a building was secured on Bench Street (now Second Street).

Miss Bishop on July 25, 1847, established a Sunday school. Seven scholars attended the first school, but there was such a mixture of races that an interpreter was necessary to make the scholars understand the instructions. By the third Sunday the

Harriet E. Bishop

attendance had increased to twenty-five, the school eventually became identified with the First Baptist Church of St. Paul, and it is claimed to be, the oldest Sunday school in Minnesota.

In the spring of 1849, Governor Slade arrived with three young ladies who were to engage in the responsible and arduous labor of teaching in Minnesota. Miss Mary A. Scofield was to assist Miss Bishop at St. Paul, where a new school house had been built, this was supplemented by a second structure giving accommodations for 150 scholars.

This advanced condition of educational affairs was largely due to a suggestion from Joseph R. Brown, to institute a Ladies Sewing Society to aid in the construction of a new school house, and he generously pledged ten dollars for a commencement of the fund. The St. Paul Circle of Industry was formed, with eight female members, besides several male visitors. The first payment for lumber for the building was made with money earned with the needle by the ladies of this circle. The officers of Fort Snelling generously donated fifty dollars towards the school fund. The special object for the building erected was the accommodation of the school, but it was used for a church, court session, occasionally for lectures and elections, in short for all public gatherings. The building was twenty-five by thirty feet and cost $300. It was thought at the time that it would be all that would be required for ten years.

Another of Governor Slade's teachers, a Miss Elizabeth Backus, opened a school at St. Anthony Falls. Miss Amanda Hosford, afterwards Mrs. H. L. Moss, at about this time taught a school at Stillwater. When Minnesota became a territory these were the only centers of civil and social life far enough developed to furnish starting points for schools.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS DURING THE TERRITORIAL PERIOD.

By the Ordinance of 1787, the Federal Government granted one thirty-sixth of the public domain (section sixteen of each township) for the support of common schools; in 1848 this was

increased to two sections in each township, section thirty-six being added. On the assembling of the first Territorial Legislature, Governor Ramsey in his message says:

> That while it is not expected that your school system should be very ample; yet it is desirable that whatever is done should be of a character, that will readily adapt itself to the growth and increase of the country, and not in future years require a violent change of system.

The territorial school code adopted; (1) Provided for a superintendent of public instruction; (2) The division of the townships into school districts, whenever a district contained ten or more families; (3 The levy of a county tax of two and a half mills for the support of schools, to which was added fifteen per cent of all fees received for liquor licenses and fines for criminal offenses.

St. Paul was the first town to take action under the new Territorial school code, a meeting of her citizens took place in December 1, 1849; a committee was appointed to call on the county commissioners, to request them to divide the town into a suitable number of school districts. In a little over a month three schools were in full blast with ample means for the education of all the children in the town. District No. 2, was under the charge of D. A. J. Baker, and there was an average attendance of eighty-five scholars. In the fall District No. 3 was taught by Henry Doolittle. District No. 2 was incorporated by the Legislature March 31, 1851, under the name of the St. Paul Institute. The object of this act is difficult to see. Granting the right to confer degrees and diplomas, which from time immemorial has been inherent in higher institutions of learning, when no other specific powers were bestowed differing from the responsibilities of a school district, seems to have been an innovation in the system of popular education quite uncalled for. In 1852 a high school was established in St. Paul. A room on the third floor of a building, corner of Third and Minnesota Streets, was hired for a school room.

This cheerful aspect of the educational situation in the capital city was slightly dimmed by a paragraph in the *Pioneer* of July 29, 1852, which says:

Truth compels us to say that there is not a building in all St. Paul, fit to be called a district school house. The only building known as such is hardly fit for a horse stable. * * * While another was sold the other day to satisfy a mortgage of less than $200. If St. Paul is not a priest-ridden town, it is in a fair way to be, with its half dozen church steeples; her children, little untaught brats, swarm the levees like wharf rats.

Enough has been said to denote the character of the early school in Minnesota. There was but little restriction as to the age of the pupils, young men and women of twenty-one years being often found in the primary schools.

The superintendent of public instruction's first report in January, 1852, gave eight school districts in Ramsey County with three school houses valued at $1,600 and four districts in Washington County but with no school houses. The school buildings, however, while in advance of log houses, were not an object of beauty, being unpainted and destitute of architectural attractiveness to the young and aspiring scholar.

At the session of the Fourth Territorial Legislature, there were introduced sundry petitions from citizens of St. Anthony, St. Paul and Little Canada, asking for a division of the common school fund. The matter was referred to a select committee, that reported in favor of amending the school laws so that any school of twenty-five children, of any denominational character in which religious instruction was taught, as well as other branches of education, should be entitled to all the benefits accruing to district schools, and should receive a part of the school fund according to the number of scholars regularly attending such school, if this attendance averaged twenty-five and the school was kept in operation four hours every day during five days in the week. The bill passed the first and second reading, but the House where the bill originated by a vote of five in favor to twelve against refused to order the bill read the third time.

A decided improvement in the schools of St. Paul occurred August 31, 1857, when the Washington school-house was dedicated. This was the first school-house that was built by the board of education, which by an act of the Legislature of 1856,

reorganizing school districts, succeeded the school trustees. The cost of the edifice was $8,433. The following year the Adams and Jefferson schools were dedicated. St. Paul now had three good school houses.

SCHOOL SYSTEM UNDER STATE SUPERVISION.

The first State Superintendent of Public Instruction was Edward D. Neill; in his first report made in 1860, he recommends that provisions should be made for county superintendents of schools, as the township plan of supervision had proved inadequate; that the civil township should be made the unit of district organization; uniform text books should be adopted; the school funds should be distributed according to scholars in attendance and not according to the census of persons of school age; this wise recommendation was not adopted however until some twenty-five years later.

Dr. Neill was succeeded by B. F. Crary, who served until July 1, 1862, when the office was abolished by the Legislature, the duties being assigned to the Secretary of State. The office was re-established in 1867, and Mark H. Dunnell was appointed to perform its duties. Mr. Dunnell resigned August 1, 1870. During his administration the schools were more completely organized by a revision of the school system, and the preparation of a complete set of blanks for the use of teachers and school officers. He increased the popular interest in education by holding meetings with school superintendents; organizing teachers institutes for rural school districts, and by his personal attention and addresses to them.

His successor, Horace B. Wilson, served to the expiration of his third term, April, 1875. He brought to the office the scholarship of a professor of mathematics and the practical experience of a county superintendent. His service to the education of the State was felt in the enlarged powers, and increased duties of the office conferred by the Legislature upon his recommendations. His successor, David Burt, also a county superintendent continued in office until September, 1881, when he was

compelled to resign on account of impaired health. He diligently fostered every department of the educational system and secured the enactment of the law appropriating school funds according to the number of scholars attending school.

Succeeding Superintendent Burt, came David L. Kiehle, still another county superintendent, he served to September 1, 1893. During his administration a more complete organization of institute instruction was established, and by an increase of the State appropriations, institutes could be held annually in each county. A State tax of one mill was established to increase the school fund; a public school library fund was arranged for, also a system of summer training schools. The State high school system was reorganized so that a course of study could be taken preparatory to the university and the professional schools.

W. W. Pendergast succeeded Superintendent Kiehle, he continued in the office till January 21, 1899, when John H. Lewis was appointed, and he discharged the duties until January 25, 1901, when the present incumbent, John W. Olsen was appointed.

The State school system is divided into district schools, graded and ungraded, consisting of common, independent, and special; state rural schools; state semigraded schools; state graded schools; state high schools; normal schools; and the University. A common school district is controlled by a board of three members, and are supervised by a county superintendent; an independent by a board of six members; a special by a board of six or more members, the two last mentioned have their own superintendents, that in the main are not subject to the county superintendents. The schools are supported by a direct tax upon the property of the school districts; by a county tax of one mill; by a State tax of one mill; and by an income from the permanent school fund, together with small fines that are credited to this fund.

The rural, semigraded, and graded schools, and State high schools were organized to afford additional advantages for education and supply better prepared teachers and better equipped school buildings in the rural districts. The generous aid given by the State to these schools has encouraged the districts in

making corresponding expenditures, and instead of making the people dependent have made them ambitious to do more for themselves. The State graded and State high schools are subject to a board of five members, and in addition to the regular income received by the district schools, receive from the State annually as follows; for each rural school $50 to $125; for each two or three department semi-graded school, $250; for each four or more departments graded school, $500; for each high school, that admits all qualified students free of tuition, $1,500. For the year ending July 31, 1906, 1586 rural schools, 309 semi-graded schools, 144 graded schools and 192 high schools participated in this State aid.

STATE NORMAL SCHOOLS.

The normal schools give scholastic and professional training to those who aspire to become teachers in the elementary schools of the State, and stand in a relation of close contact and sympathy with the rural schools. The majority of the students enter direct from the rural schools, and a large proportion support themselves by alternately teaching in the rural schools and attending the normal schools as means and circumstances permit. Thus they bring from their experience as actual teachers a devotion and zeal for professional studies which few other students possess, and in turn carry back to their teaching in rural schools a better preparation, newer methods, higher ideals and greater skill in their chosen work.

The normal department embraces the following courses of study:

An Elementary Course of three years, designed to fit teachers for work in common and lower grade schools.

An Advanced Course of five years, which gives the preparation needed by teachers of higher as well as lower grades.

A Professional Course of one or two years, for students who are graduates of approved high schools.

A Kindergarten Training Course of two years, for students who are graduates of high schools, and who desire to equip themselves especially for kindergarten or first primary work.

The present plan for the qualifications of teachers was recommended by State Superintendent John H. Lewis, and was enacted by the Legislature of 1899. Its main features are:

1. All examinations are held on the same days in the several counties of the state under the supervision of the respective county superintendents, upon questions prepared by the state department of public instruction, and under rules fixed by the department.

2. All papers are forwarded to the state department, and are passed upon by a corps of examiners.

3. Certificates are graded as follows: First grade, good for five years; and second grade, good for two years. These are issued only to persons who have satisfactory academic and professional preparation. Certificates of the first grade are valid in every county of the state; and those of second grade are valid in the county in which the examination is held, and in any other county upon the endorsement of its county superintendent. The law also provides for local third grade certificates, good for a single year in a given district.

The statute of 1885 provides, that the diplomas of the state normal schools shall be valid as certificates of the first grade for two years, and upon satisfactory evidence of the success of teaching, as given by the endorsement of the superintendent of public instruction and the president (principal) of the normal school issuing the diploma, that the elementary course shall be valid as a state certificate for five years, and that of the advanced courses shall be a permanent certificate of qualification.

The normal school system of the State was organized by the Legislature of 1858, making provisions for the organization of three schools upon donations from localities desiring the schools, of $5,000 from each locality. To Winona belongs the honor of giving the first expression to this new movement for the improvement of Minnesota's schools. The Legislature named Winona, Mankato and St. Cloud as seats of these schools, but the following Legislature which was wedded to retrenchment and reform, passed a law restraining action on the two last named localities for five years.

Through the generous donations of the citizens of Winona, the first named school was opened September 3, 1860, with John Ogden as its principal, in a building having accommodations for forty students. This was the first Normal School opened west of the Mississippi River independent of a State

university or any other educational institution. Iowa established a state normal department in connection with her university prior to 1857. It preceded by two years the establishment of a school system for the State. The school was continued through 1861 and part of the next year, when, on account of the failure of the Legislature to provide funds, it was closed.

In 1864 the Legislature appropriated $3,000 for the current expenses of that year, and $5,000 for 1865; and the same sum annually thereafter. The school was re-opened in the fall of 1864 in a building furnished by the citizens of Winona and William F. Phelps became principal. The building being unsuitable for the school which was growing in popularity, and increasing in numbers the State appropriated moneys to erect a permanent building and the main part of the present building was so far completed that the school was removed into it in September, 1869. Through the liberality of the citizens of Winona, it was finished the following year, the original cost of the building and grounds being $134,000 of which the citizens of Winona paid $32,450. Professor Phelps resigned in 1876, and was succeeded by Charles A. Morey, who after two years of service resigned in May, 1879. In June of the same year, Irwin Shepard was elected principal filling the office until January 1, 1889, when Jesse F. Millspaugh became principal, he was succeeded by G. E. Maxwell, the present incumbent.

The annual appropriations for current expenses have been increased from time to time until they now amount to $24,000, also appropriations have been made for the improvement of the grounds and building and equipping of the east and west wings of the main building, until the aggregate cost of the grounds and buildings has reached $224,000.

A model school of one grade was established at the time of the re-opening in 1864. It was soon increased to three grades, later to eight, and by a recent act of the normal board to nine grades. In 1880, a kindergarten training course was organized and in 1900, manual training became a part of the curriculum, this feature afterwards was incorporated in the academic professional course of all the normal schools.

The first class of fourteen was graduated in 1866. Since that time the number of graduates has increased to about 2,300, while about 8,000 under graduates have received instructions for longer or shorter periods.

In 1866, the city of Mankato offered the State the donation specified in the act of 1858, and the Legislature appropriated $5,000 in accordance with the act. The school was opened September 1, 1868, in the basement of the Methodist Episcopal Church, with George M. Gage as principal. In October, it was moved to the second story of a store, corner of Front and Main Streets, but the State building being nearly completed the school began to occupy it in April, 1870. The cost of the building to January 1, 1900, has amounted to $160,700. Appropriations for current expenses have been increased from time to time until in 1899 they amounted to $29,500. For 1903-1904, there was appropriated for current expenses $42,500.

Professor Gage resigned in June, 1872 and was succeeded by Miss J. A. Sears, who served as acting principal one year. D. C. John served as principal from 1873 until 1880, when he became president of Hamline University. In May, 1880, Edward Searing became principal and continued to fill the office until his death, October 22, 1898. He was succeeded January 1, 1899, by Charles H. Cooper, the present incumbent. The institution has given diplomas to 1,600 for complete normal training and several times that number for a partial training.

The Legislature of 1866 located the third normal school at St. Cloud, the citizens of that city subscribing $5,000 as a nucleus for a fund for its establishment. A site elevated about seventy-five feet above the Mississippi River, on its west bank, was purchased for $3,000. It consisted of six acres of land on which was a building originally intended for a hotel. The grounds were afterwards enlarged by a donation of one lot, and the purchase of several, paid for by the citizens of St. Cloud, adding considerably to the value of the property. The building was repaired and furnished at a cost of $3,281 and the school was opened on September 1, 1869, with Ira Moore as principal. He resigned in 1875 and was succeeded by D. L.

Kiehle, who in 1881 was appointed superintendent of public instruction and the vacancy was filled by the appointment of Jerome Allen. He resigned in 1884, and Thomas J. Gray became principal, he closed his connection with the school in 1890, when Joseph Carhart became his successor, he in turn was succeeded in 1895 by George R. Kleeberger. The next principal was the present incumbent W. A. Shoemaker. The present building was commenced in 1870, and was first occupied in 1875, and in 1904 represented an outlay of $218,620. The total number graduated from school to 1906 is 1,675. The permanent annual appropriation is about $24,000, though it has in several years been temporarily increased. The Ladies Home, finished during the fall of 1885, is an invaluable adjunct in affording accommodations to young ladies attending the school.

The first three normal schools being located in the southeastern portion of the State, the Legislature of 1885 located a fourth at Moorhead, providing the citizens of the town would donate a suitable location for the building. The site, a tract of six acres, is the gift of S. G. Comstock. Subsequent legislatures made appropriations for buildings, which in 1899 amounted to a cost of $119,900, this included Wheeler Hall, a dormitory built for young women, at a cost of $25,000. The Legislature of 1901 appropriated $40,000 for an addition to the main building which was constructed the following year, and contains an auditorium, library, biological laboratories, gymnasium, and bath rooms. The school was opened August 29, 1888, under the principalship of Livingston C. Lord, who served until 1899, when he was succeeded by Frank A. Weld, the present incumbent. The original appropriations for running expenses of $5,000 has been increased to $19,000 in 1900, in 1903-1904 it was $48,000. There are three departments in the school, the Normal, the Preparatory, and the Practical Department. The total number of graduates to January 1, 1905 being 504.

The normal school at Duluth was established by an act of the Legislature in 1895. The city of Duluth, in compliance with a provision of the act, donated six acres of land lying between Twenty-second and Twenty-third Avenues east and north of

Fifth Street in that city. Appropriations were made from time to time to construct a building and in February, 1901, when well along towards completion it was almost completely destroyed by fire. Fortunately it was well covered by insurance, and it was possible to begin rebuilding at once, without further aid from the Legislature. The school was not opened until September 2, 1902, and E. W. Bohannon became principal. The total cost of the building and equipment was $103,500. The first enrollment was 127 in the normal department and ninety-seven in the training department. The appropriation for current expenses for 1903-1904 was $27,000.

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA.

At the head of the institutions of higher learning in the State is the University of Minnesota. Its foundation was laid by an act of the Territorial Legislature in 1851, approved February 13, in that year. The important provisions of this act were: (1) That a board of twelve regents be elected by the Legislature for a term of six years; (2) That the university be erected at or near the Falls of St. Anthony; (3) That the regents shall have control of all funds appropriated for the erection of buildings and other necessary equipments of the University, and also of all lands appropriated by Congress for the maintenance of higher education.

The first board of regents consisted of Isaac Atwater, J. B. Furber, William R. Marshall, B. B. Meeker, Socrates Nelson, Henry M. Rice, Alexander Ramsey, Henry H. Sibley, C. K. Smith, Franklin Steele, N. C. D. Taylor and Abraham Van Voorhees. Edward D. Neill was elected Chancellor.

The first building was erected on a site donated by Franklin Steele, near what is now Central Avenue, Minneapolis. This was a two story building fifty by thirty feet costing $2,500 with two rooms finished. A private school was opened by Rev. E. W. Merrill, to whom the regents gave the use of the building. The title to the property providing defective the building was transferred to other hands and the school was closed.

The site of the present campus was located in 1854 by the purchase of twenty-seven acres at a cost of $6,000; private contributions were made to the amount of $3,000 and the remainder was secured by mortgage. In 1856 the Legislature authorized the issue of $15,000 in bonds, $5,000 of which was to be used in the purchase of the site, the balance to be expended in erecting suitable buildings. The regents by a majority vote, adopted the plans for a four story building 277 feet in length and let the contract amounting to $49,000; for the erection of one wing, which afterwards formed the rear part of the "Main Building," (destroyed by fire September 24, 1904.)

The financial crash of 1857 proved fatal to this venture. To save what had already been invested the Legislature authorized the regents to issue bonds for an additional $40,000. In 1858, Rev. E. D. Neill was again elected Chancellor and the following year the building was completed at the cost of $65,000. For eight years the building remained unused.

The University was reorganized by an act of the Legislature approved February 14, 1860. Under this act the board of regents was made to consist of the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Chancellor of the University and five electors of the State appointed by the governor, and to be confirmed by the Senate. In their report dated December 1, 1860, the University was shown to have an indebtedness of $93,506.66. The Legislature by an act approved March 7, 1862, empowered the regents to liquidate all existing indebtedness by the sale of lands granted, or reserved by Congress for the use and support of a State or Territorial university. The lands which had been made by the separate grants by Congress in the years 1849, 1857 and 1862 amounted to 178,086 acres.

In 1864, a new board of regents was named, viz: O. C. Merriam, and John S. Pillsbury of Minneapolis, and John Nicols of St. Paul. They were required to give bonds in the sum of $75,000, to perform a specified duty of disposing of 12,000 acres of the university lands, to adjust the indebtedness already referred to.

To the disinterested services and financial ability of these three men, the State is indebted for the liquidation of this debt which was finally cancelled with the proceeds of 15,000 acres, leaving besides the lands granted to the State, some 30,000 acres of the selected lands of the Territorial grant.

These three regents gave equally the best they had in time and labor to the adjustment of these vexing claims. Mr. Pillsbury, from that day to the day of his decease in 1901, ever had the interests of the University at heart. He became widly known as the "Father of the University," and his thirty-eight years of constant care of the University, as well as the gift of the imposing hall that bears his name, rightly entitled him to be commemorated, which has been done, by the erection of a bronze statue of himself that now adorns the campus.

The Legislature of 1867, having received the report of the regents that the debt was practically wiped out, voted an appropriation of $15,000 for repair of the building and for a beginning of the work of the University.

The act of reorganizing the University was signed by the Governor February 18, 1868, which is counted as the real charter day of the University. The institution was formally opened by the calling of the first college class, September 15, 1869.

Colonel William W. Folwell was elected president of the University in 1869, there being a faculty of nine and an enrollment of 127 in the preparatory department, and a freshman class of thirteen of whom two, Warren C. Eustis of Owatonna, Minnesota, and Henry M. Williamson of Portland, Oregon, were graduated in 1873.

The new part of the main building ninety by seventy-two, four stories high was completed in 1874, also the Agricultural College building one hundred forty-six by fifty-four, extreme limits, two stories and basement. The latter building was destroyed by fire in 1888.

The administration of President Folwell continued to 1883 and as acting president to June, 1884, a term of fifteen years. This was to some extent a period of experiment preliminary to a more permanent organization. The general lack of preparatory

schools in the State, made the instructions of the University largely of that character, there being three classes below the freshman year. The poverty of the school required the professors to teach several lines at the same time. The curriculum was Greek, Latin, mathematics and philosophy; history and natural sciences held a subordinate rank.

The educational problems of the day were causes of some contention, the question of co-education was brought up at the opening of the University by Principal Washburn, the faculty after the reorganization was opposed to granting the privilege of higher education to women, but the regents were in favor of this and referring to popular sentiment, decided on admitting women on equal footing with men.

The second stage of progress under President Folwell's administration was the articulation of the industrial sciences, and departments with the college of science, literature and the arts. The charter of the University provided for the establishing of five or more colleges or departments, to-wit: a department of elementary instruction, a college of sciences, literature and the arts, a college of agriculture, and the mechanic arts, including military tactics, a department of law, and a department of medicine.

The accession of Cyrus Northrop to the presidency of the University in 1884 marks an epoch in its history. In the year preceding there were but two buildings on the campus, and the highest registration was 289. By the introduction of business principles in its management the growth of the University has been continuous, until at the present day it stands abreast with its sister state universities. These results have not only been accomplished by wise business management but also by the liberality of the State towards the institution.

In 1888, the Department of Medicine, an outgrowth of the medical examining board established in 1883, was organized, with Dr. Perry H. Millard as its first dean. It contains the colleges of 1, Medicine and Surgery; 2, Homeopathic Medicine and Surgery; 3, Dentistry and 4, Pharmacy.

The same year the College of Law was organized under the deanship of W. S. Pattee, LL. D. Its development has been rapid in enrollment, and its curriculum takes high rank for its scholarship and thoroughness.

After the opening of these two new departments, the University entered upon a period of marvelous growth. The chair of pedagogy was established in 1893 and to its duties D. L. Kiehle was appointed.

The number of students enrolled in 1898-1899 was 2,925, of these 2,099 were men and 826 women; for the first time in the history of the University, the females outnumbered the males in the College of Science, Literature and the Arts, this is explainable by a reference to the enrollment of the College of Engineering and the Mechanic Arts, also the School of Mines of which a large percentage was males. The enrollment of 1907 was 4025 the faculty of nine at the time of the reorganization had been increased so that it now consists of nearly 400 faculty, instructors and lecturers.

The University is divided into seven distinct departments: A College of Science, Literature and Arts, a College of Engineering and the Mechanic Arts, a College of Agriculture, a College of Law. A Department of Medicine consisting of four separate colleges, and a Graduate Department. The course is four years, excepting the College of Law and the College of Dentistry where it is three years, and the College of Pharmacy which is two years.

The University is open to both sexes, and tuition is absolutely free except in the professional departments. A certificate of a principal of a high school of Minnesota stating, that the applicant has passed a successful examination in the required studies, entitled him to admission to the University except the professional departments, with the proviso, that if the student fails to maintain a reputable standing, he is required to make further preparation.

Applicants for admission to the medical colleges, in addition to the foregoing, are required to have completed one full year of a recognized college course. Admission to the College

of Dentistry is based upon the completion of a two years high school course, and the demonstration of mechanical ability. The College of Pharmacy requires a minimum of one full year in each of the following: English composition, Latin, physics, physiology and botany, algebra or geometry.

The fees of the College of Science, Literature and the Arts and the College of Agriculture are twenty dollars a year; for the College of Engineering and the Mechanic Arts and School of Mines thirty dollars, with a small fee to cover expense of materials used in laboratory work. Non-residents are charged double the fee required of residents.

For the College of Law, the fees are a matriculation fee of ten dollars, and an annual fee thereafter of sixty dollars. For the College of Medicine and Surgery a fee of one hundred dollars a year, and for the College of Homeopathic Medicine and Surgery, there is a fee of one hundred dollars for each of the two first years, and eighty dollars for each of the last two years. The College of Dentistry a level fee of one hundred dollars a year. For the College of Pharmacy, the fee for the full course is one hundred and sixty-five dollars, the course may, however, be divided so as to be taken in two or three years. The degrees conferred are as follows: In the College of Science, Literature and Arts, Bachelor of Arts, Bachelor of Science, Bachelor of Literature, and Bachelor of Philosophy; in the College of Engineering and the Mechanic Arts, degrees of Civil, Mechanical and Electrical Engineering. In this college a four year's course of study in science, and technology, entitles the student to a degree of, Bachelor of Science, with an additional year's work leading to the engineer's degree. The School of Mines confers the degree of Engineer of Mines or Metallurgical Engineer; the College of Agriculture that of Bachelor of Agriculture; the College of Law, that of Bachelor of Laws; graduate work leads to the degrees of Master of Laws, and Doctor of Civil Laws. The College of Medicine and Surgery and the College of Homeopathic Medicine and Surgery confer the degrees of Doctor of Medicine. The College of Dentistry, that of Doctor of Dental Medicine, and the College of Pharmacy, a degree of Pharmaceutical Chemistry,

and graduate work leads to degree of Master of Pharmacy and Doctor of Pharmacy. There is a Graduate Department in each of the colleges except that of Medicine, where advanced courses are taught leading to second degrees.

The campus has been increased from time to time by purchase and gifts, until now it includes nearly sixty acres. The buildings which numbered two at the time of President Northrop's accession to office, consist now of twenty-two. In number of students admitted to membership in 1907, the University of Minnesota was only exceeded by the Columbia University of New York, Harvard University of Cambridge, Massachusetts, University of Chicago at Chicago; University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, Michigan, University of Illinois, at Urbanna, Illinois, and the Valparaiso University at Valparaiso, Indiana.

AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE.

By an act of the Legislature approved March 10, 1858, a quantity of land in McLeod County was set aside for an experimental farm and site for an Agricultural College, to be under the control of the president and executive committee of the State Agricultural Society. In 1861, the Legislature donated to this college all the "swamp lands" within the boundaries of McLeod County. The Legislature in 1863 having accepted the land grant of 120,000 acres donated by the General Government, for the support of a college of agriculture and mechanic arts authorized the commissioner of the general land office to select the lands. After the donation of these lands and at the close of the Civil War the question arose, what disposition should be made of this agricultural land grant. Many were in favor of placing the land grant in a permanent fund for the agricultural college already established. The State University charter, however, provided for the organization of a college of agriculture and mechanic arts. It was therefore urged by the representatives and friends of the University, that for the best interests of the State and of the industries named in the grant, to unite it with the university grant, and the College of Agriculture and

Mechanic Arts become a department of that institution. The finances of the University were at this time in a precarious condition, and therefore to meet the exigencies the government grant intact, was made over to the Agricultural College at Glencoe.

In 1867 the regents reported the University indebtedness liquidated, and the friends and officials of the Glencoe Agricultural College not being able to obtain any appropriations for buildings from the Legislature, and fearing the land grant might be divided amongst the normal schools, agreed that if the State would re-grant to McLeod County the swamp lands to be used to endow Stevens Seminary, that they would co-operate with the friends of the University to have a bill passed to consolidate the agricultural college grant with the university's territorial land grant.

This act of consolidation was approved February 18, 1868, and later an act was passed endowing the Stevens Seminary with 4,684 acres of swamp lands. With the remains of the territorial grant, the agricultural grant, and the state university grant made in 1870; the University now had an available endowment of some 200,000 acres for its support.

In 1868 an experimental farm of ninety-six acres, located just east of the University's campus was purchased for $8,500, and E. H. Twining was elected professor of the department of science and agriculture. The following twenty years the history of this department is one of struggle and experiment to satisfy the demand for an agricultural education.

The attendance of students was small and the only thing was needed, was, that farmers would send their sons to be educated to put the department in a flourishing condition. The old experimental farm was platted in 1882, and about one-half of the lots sold at auction netting $47,400. A new farm of 155 acres was purchased adjoining the State Fair Grounds located between the Twin Cities. This has been increased to 270 acres and now has twenty-one buildings located upon it. It was not, however, until 1888 that the problem of agricultural education was solved. The enrollment previous to this was limited

to one, two or three students and there was but one graduate in the years 1880, 1883, 1885, and 1887. It became evident that in order to get the young farmers into the College of Agriculture, there must be a connecting link between the college and the district school. Bills had been introduced into the Legislature to separate the Agricultural College and land grant from the University, and placing them under a separate board as a separate institution.

In the year mentioned Regent Kiehle suggested the establishment by the University of a school of agriculture holding sessions only from October to April. This school was to be equal in grade to a high school, students were to be admitted without further preparation than that acquired at a district school. The course of study was to embrace instruction in different lines of agriculture, horticulture, live stock, manual training, etc. From the first this school was a standing protest against the plan of separation, its complete success made all opposition melt away. It started under the principalship of William W. Pendergast with an enrollment of forty-seven students.

In 1897, it was determined to open a department for the daughters of farmers, who were admitted on the same terms as the sons, and besides the high school subjects they were given work in special lines of cooking, sewing, laundry and home-making. Including the class of 1906, the school has graduated 779 students, over eighty per cent of whom are actually engaged in agricultural pursuits.

The college course in agriculture is four years and graduates students with a degree of Bachelor of Science in Agriculture. The dairy division was organized in 1891, and a school opened, January 5, 1892; a short course of eight weeks was provided about the same time for farmers unable to attend the regular course. There has been a steady growth since 1890 from a class of five in that year, in 1906 there were sixty-eight students in the college, one hundred six in the dairy school and eighty-one who attended the short course.

The work of the Minnesota Experiment Station was permanently extended in 1895 by appropriating money to establish stations

at Crookston and Grand Rapids. The former is known as the Northwest Experiment Farm, it consists of 450 acres and was donated to the State by the Great Northern Railway Company. One of the plans of the farm is to encourage the growing of a larger variety of crops in Northwestrn Minnesota than was formerly raised. Drainage is also one of the great problems in which experiments are made, to determine whether a system of tile drainage would be adaptable to the soil and climate. The Legislature of 1905 established at this farm a school of agriculture under the educational supervision of the board of regents, and appropriated $15,000 to erect a school building. This school is a success, and has been compelled to turn away students for lack of accommodations.

The other farm is known as the Northeast Experiment Farm. It was established in 1896 for the purposes of determining the agricultural possibilities of Northeastern Minnesota. It comprises a farm of 450 acres about one-third of which is under cultivation. The system of farming in this portion of the State will be required to be different from that commonly practiced in prairie districts. Grain raising will not succeed unless connected with a system of stock raising and dairying, the immediate work of this experimental farm in the future will be along these lines.

DENOMINATIONAL SCHOOLS.

With the specific aim of providing an educational laity and ministry the different religious denominations have from time to time established schools of higher learning in Minnesota, for all who would avail themselves of their advantages. The Baldwin School, founded by Rev. Edward D. Neill, Rev. Albert Barnes, and Matthew W. Baldwin, the founder of the Baldwin Locomotive Works of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, was incorporated by the Legislature in 1853; a commodious building was erected in St. Paul that summer, and the school opened the following June. The school was open to both sexes, and was incorporated by the Presbyterians. The dedication of the building took place De-

cember 29, 1853, and at the banquet, addresses were made by Rev. E. D. Neill, Charles J. Hennis, William Hollinshead, Willis A. Gorman, John P. Owens, T. M. Newson, Morton S. Wilkinson, Rev. T. R. Cressey, George L. Becker, W. G. Le Duc and others. Its name was given to it as a compliment to Mr. Baldwin, the principal donor to the building fund. The following year the Baldwin College was opened for young men. In January, 1854, the school was in successful operation having seventy-one pupils, but owing to the public schools of St. Paul becoming well organized in 1857, also the panic of that year, the sparsely settled condition of the country and the unorganized conditions of society, this pioneer denominational school was obliged to close its doors. The building was rented to be used for a post office. In 1864, it was leased by the board of education, was afterwards purchased by the city, and used as a schoolhouse until the completion of the Madison School. The college in 1874 through a bequest of Charles Macalester of Philadelphia, changed its name to Macalester College and was permanently located with buildings for instruction and residences for professors, on its present campus of thirty acres in St. Paul. The college is open for instruction for both sexes, and is performing excellent work.

The Methodist denomination moved early in establishing Hamline University in 1854, formally opened to men and women in 1856. It was located at Red Wing, and between 1857 and 1869 graduated fourteen women and nine men. The college dates its new and prosperous history after its removal to its present location in St. Paul in 1869, and its re-opening in 1880 as a collegiate institution under the presidency of Rev. D. C. John. The College of Physicians and Surgeons in connection with the university is located at Minneapolis. The university religious affiliations is with the Methodist Episcopal Church.

The Order of St. Benedict founded St. John's College in 1857, locating it at St. Cloud. In 1867 it was removed to its present site in Collegeville; and in 1883 it became St. John's University. The present head of the faculty of thirty-five instructors is Rt. Rev. Peter Engel. The enrollment for 1906 was 314 students.

The Episcopalians in 1858 organized the Bishop Seabury Mission, named in commemoration of Samuel Seabury of Connecticut, the first consecrated Episcopal bishop in the United States. It was chartered in 1860, includes the system of academic and divinity schools and is located at Faribault. Here is also located St. Mary's Hall, and Shattuck School organized in 1866 by the Episcopal Church. Also at Wilder is the Breck School organized in 1899.

At Northfield, in 1867, was founded by the Congregationalists, the preparatory department of what in 1870 took permanent form in the opening of Carlton College, under the presidency of Rev. James W. Strong. It is now a non-sectarian institution. The Congregationalists, however, have in the state at Montevideo the Windom Institute, named in honor of Senator William Windom, which affiliates with that denomination.

The Bethlehem Academy at Faribault was organized in 1866 by the Roman Catholic Church; The Holy Trinity School at New Ulm in 1875, and College of St. Thomas at St. Paul in 1885. This denomination have scattered throughout the State a number of academies, institutions and schools of which mention is made of the following: Sacred Heart Institute of Duluth; Holy Angels Academy at Minneapolis; Academy of our Lady of Lourdes at Rochester; St. Benedict Convent at St. Joseph; Notre Dame Academy at Hokah; St. Anne's Convent, Boarding and Day School at Anoka; Villa Maria Academy at Frontenac; Academy of Sacred Heart at Owatonna; Winona Seminary at Winona; Benedictine Sisters, St. Mary's Convent, and St. Mary School at St. Cloud; Guardian Angel Catholic School at Chaska; Villa Rosa Catholic School at Argyle and others.

The first institution of learning established in the State by the United Norwegian Lutheran Church, was what is now St. Olaf College at Northfield. It was established as a school in 1874, and as a college in 1880. Students of either sex are admitted over fourteen years of age, a complete course consists of four years in the academy, and four years in the college. The present president is John N. Kildahl. In 1875, the Gustavus

Adolphus College was organized at St. Peter. The Augsbury Seminary in Minneapolis in 1869. Among the other Lutheran colleges and schools in the State are the Ansgar College at Hutchinson; Concordia College at St. Paul; Concordia College at Moorhead; Glenwood Academy at Glenwood; Luther Academy at Albert Lea; Luther Seminary at St. Paul; Martin Luther College at New Ulm; Northwestern College and Park Region Luther College at Fergus Falls; Red Wing Ladies Seminary and Red Wing Seminary at Red Wing; United Lutheran Normal School at Madison; Willmar Seminary at Willmar; etc.

Chapter XXXV.

JUDICIAL SYSTEM.

SUPREME COURT.

THE constitution provides that the judicial power shall be vested in a supreme court, district courts, courts of probate, justices of the peace and such other courts inferior to the supreme court as the Legislature may from time to times establish. This latter prerogative the Legislature has exercised in the establishment of municipal courts in the larger cities of the State.

The supreme court consists of one chief justice and four associate justices, elected by the people, and holding office for six years, and until successors are elected and qualified. Two terms of court are held in each year, commencing on the first Tuesdays of April and October, at the capitol, in St. Paul. This court has original jurisdiction in such remedial cases as may be prescribed by law, and appellate jurisdiction in all cases, both in law and equity.

The clerk of the supreme court is an elective officer, the term of office being four years.

The reporter of the supreme court is an officer appointed by the supreme court to prepare the adjudicated cases for publication in official volumes, entitled, "Minnesota Reports."

Originally the reporter owned the exclusive copyright, and the reports were printed and bound at his expense, the State buying of him 200 copies of each volume at six dollars a volume. In 1881, an act was passed providing that the reporter

should have no pecuniary interest in the reports, but that they should be published by contract under his supervision, the publisher to agree to sell the volumes at two dollars a volume and the State to agree to buy 200 copies at that price. The contract price is now $1. The copyright of the volumes already published vests in the secretary of the state for the benefit of the people of the State, but the publisher is permitted to continue the publication and sale of such volumes as long as he complies with the requirements of the law as to the character and price of volumes. The State now buys 425 copies of each volume at the price last named.

The secretary of state is charged with the distribution of the volumes, one copy to each of the several departments of State, to each judge of the supreme court, and of the several district, probate and municipal courts, and to the clerk of each district court, while the University of Minnesota receives 100 copies for the law department, and the State library receives a sufficient number for exchanges with other states and for the use of the library. The remaining copies remain in the custody of the secretary of state for future distribution by law.

CHIEF JUSTICES, SUPREME COURT.

Lafayette Emmett: May 24, 1858, to January 10, 1865.
Thomas Wilson: January 10, 1865, to July 14, 1869.
James Gilfillan: July 14, 1869, to January 7, 1870.
Christopher G. Ripley: January 7, 1870, to April 7, 1874.
S. J. R. McMillan; April 7, 1874, to March 10, 1875.
James Gilfillan: March 10, 1875, to December, 1894.
Charles M. Start: January 7, 1895, to January, 1913.

ASSOCIATE JUSTICES, SUPREME COURT.

Charles E. Flandrau: May 24, 1858, to July 5, 1864.
Isaac Atwater: May 24, 1858, to July 6, 1864.
S. J. R. McMillan: July 6, 1864, to April 7, 1874.
Thomas Wilson: July 6, 1864, to January 10, 1865.
John M. Berry: January 10, 1865, to November 8, 1887.
George B. Young: April 16, 1874, to January 11, 1875.
F. R. E. Cornell: January 11, 1875, to May 23, 1881.
D. A. Dickinson: June 27, 1881, to January, 1894.
Greenleaf Clark: March 14, 1881, to January 12, 1882.

William Mitchell: March 14, 1881, to January, 1900.
C. E. Vanderburgh: January 12, 1882, to January, 1894.
Loren W. Collins: November 16, 1887, to April 1, 1904.
Daniel Buck: January, 1894, to January, 1900.
Thomas Canty: January 1894, to January, 1900.
John A. Lovely: January, 1900, to January, 1906.
C. L. Brown: January, 1900, to January, 1902.
C. L. Lewis: January, 1900, to January, 1912.
W. B. Douglas: April 1, 1904, to January 2, 1905.
Charles B. Elliott: January, 1906, to January, 1912.
Edwin A. Jaggard: January, 1905, to January, 1911.

CLERKS OF SUPREME COURT.

Jacob J. Noah: May 24, 1858, to January 15, 1861.
A. J. Van Vorhes: January 15, 1861, to January, 13, 1864.
George F. Potter: January 13, 1864, to January 14, 1867.
Sherwood Hough: January 14, 1867, to January 7, 1876.
Sam H. Nichols: January 7, 1876, to January 5, 1887.
J. D. Jones: January 5, 1887, to January 5, 1891.
Charles P. Holcomb: January 5, 1891, to January 7, 1895.
Darius F. Reese: January 7, 1895, to January, 1903.
C. A. Pidgeon: January 5, 1903, to January, 1911.

REPORTERS OF SUPREME COURT.

Harvey Officer: May 24, 1858, to January 30, 1865.
William A. Spencer: January 30, 1865, to June 15, 1875.
George B. Young: June 15, 1875, to April 15, 1892.
C. C. Wilson: April 15, 1892, to May 14, 1895.
Henry B. Wenzell: May 14, 1895, to ————

LOWER COURTS.

The district courts are created by the Legislature, the State being divided into nineteen judicial districts, with one or more judges in a district, as the exigencies of business may require, and the judges are elected for six years. The district courts have original jurisdiction in all civil cases, both in law and equity, where the amount exceeds $100, or the punishment shall exceed three months' imprisonment or a fine of more than $100. Also, in criminal cases where presentments are made by grand juries.

The municipal courts generally have the power of disposing of all criminal cases for infraction of city laws, and for hearing and committing for trial on arrests for violation of State laws. Chap. 146, G. L. 1891, "An act relating to villages of over 3,000 inhabitants, and providing for municipal courts therein." By the provisions of this act a municipal court has jurisdiction in civil actions where the amount does not exceed $500; also, in all cases where a justice court has jurisdiction, and over certain criminal actions. Its jurisdiction is co-extensive with the limits of the county where located.

The probate courts are created by authority of the constitution, one for each county, and the judges to be elected by the people, for two years. The probate court has jurisdiction over the estates of deceased persons and persons under guardianship, and the examination and commitment of insane persons to the asylums. The compensation of judges of probate, except when fixed by special laws, is based upon the population of the various counties and runs from three hundred dollars in counties having a population of less than three thousand to four thousand five hundred dollars in counties having a population of one hundred thousand and over.

JUDGES OF DISTRICT COURT.

First District.

S. J. R. McMillan: May 24, 1850, to July 1, 1864.
Charles McClure: August, 1864, to December 31, 1871.
F. M. Crosby: January 1, 1872, to January, 1909.
Wm. M. McClure: November 19, 1881, to September, 1890.
Hollis R. Murdock: September 24, 1890, to January 14, 1891.
W. C. Williston: January, 1891, to January, 1911.

Second District.

E. C. Palmer: May 24, 1858, to December 31, 1864.
Wescott Wilkin: January 1, 1865, to January 5, 1897.
H. R. Brill: January 1, 1876, to January, 1913.
Orlando Simons: January 1, 1876, to November, 1890.
L. M. Vilas: February 15, 1889, to August, 1889.
William L. Kelly: March 17, 1887, to January, 1913.
C. D. Kerr: February 14, 1889, to January, 1897.
Charles E. Otis: August 28, 1889, to January, 1903.

James J. Egan: January, 1891, to January, 1897.
W. D. Cornish: December 5, 1890, to January, 1893.
J. W. Willis: January, 1893, to January 2, 1899.
O. B. Lewis: January 5, 1897, to January, 1909.
George L. Bunn: January 2, 1897, to January, 1911.
E. A. Jaggard: January 2, 1899, to January, 1905.
Grier M. Orr: January 5, 1903, to January, 1909.

Third District.

Oscar Hallam: January, 1905, to January, 1911.
Thomas Wilson: May 24, 1858, to July 1, 1864.
Lloyd Barber: September 12, 1864, to December 31, 1871.
C. N. Waterman: January 1, 1872, to February 18, 1873.
John Van Dyke: February 28, 1873, to January 8, 1874.
William Mitchell: January 8, 1874, to March 14, 1881.
Chas. M. Start: March 14, 1881, to January 7, 1895.
O. B. Gould: January 7, 1895, to January 5, 1897.
A. H. Snow: January 5, 1897, to January, 1909.

Fourth District.

James Hall: May 24, 1858, to October 1, 1858.
Edward O. Hamlin: October 1, 1858, to December 31, 1858.
Charles E. Vanderburgh: January 1, 1859, to January 12, 1882.
A. H. Young: January, 1877, to January, 1891.
John M. Shaw: January 13, 1882, to January 8, 1884.
M. B. Koon: January 8, 1884, to May 1, 1886.
John P. Rea: May 1, 1886, to March 5, 1889.
William Lochren: November 19, 1881, to May 8, 1893.
Henry G. Hicks: March 15, 1887, to January, 1895.
Frederick Hooker: March 5, 1889, to September, 1893.
Seagrave Smith: March 5, 1889, to May, 1898.
Charles M. Pond: November 18, 1890, to January 5, 1897.
Thomas Canty: January 5, 1891, to January 3, 1894.
Robert D. Russell: May 8, 1893, to October 20, 1897.
Robert Jamison: September 19, 1893, to December 1, 1897.
Chas. B. Elliott: January 3, 1894, to October 4, 1905.
Henry C. Belden: January, 1895, to May 5, 1897.
David F. Simpson: January 5, 1897, to January, 1909.
E. M. Johnson: May 5, 1897, to January 2, 1899.
John F. McGee: October 20, 1897, to November 19, 1902.
Willard R. Cray: November 19, 1902, to January, 1905.
Wm. A. Lancaster: December 11, 1897, to January 2, 1899.
Alexander M. Harrison: May 19, 1898, to January, 1905.
Chas. M. Pond: January 2, 1899, to January, 1905.

Frank C. Brooks: January 2, 1899, to January, 1911.
Andrew Holt: January 2, 1905, to January, 1911.
Horace C. Dickinson: January 2, 1905, to January, 1911.
John Day Smith: January 2, 1905, to January, 1911.
Frederick V. Brown: October 4, 1905, to January, 1913.

Fifth District.

N. M. Donaldson: May 24, 1858, to December 31, 1871.
Samuel Lord: January 1, 1872, to February 21, 1880.
Thomas S. Buckman: February 21, 1880, to January, 1911.

Sixth District.

L. Branson: May 24, 1858, to December 31, 1864.
Horace Austin: January 1, 1865, to September 30, 1869.
M. G. Hanscome: October 1, 1869, to December 31, 1869.
Franklin H. Waite: January 1, 1870, to October 1, 1874.
A. C. Woolfolk: October 1, 1874, to December 31, 1874.
D. A. Dickinson: January 1, 1875, to June 27, 1881.
M. J. Severance: June 27, 1881, to January, 1900.
Lorin Cray: January, 1900, to January, 1912.

Seventh District.

James M. McKelvey: August 1, 1866, to April 19, 1883.
L. W. Collins: April 19, 1883, to November 16, 1887.
L. L. Baxter: March 18, 1885, to January, 1911.
D. B. Searle: November 14, 1887, to January, 1907.
Myron D. Taylor: December 1, 1906, to January, 1913.

Eighth District.

L. M. Brown: March 11, 1870, to December 31, 1870.
A. G. Chatfield: January 1, 1871, to October 3, 1875.
L. M. Brown: October 29, 1875, to January 3, 1877.
J. L. Macdonald: January 3, 1877, to November 4, 1886.
James C. Edson: November 4, 1886, to January 27, 1891.
Francis Cadwell: February, 1891, to January, 1905.
P. W. Morrison: January, 1905, to January, 1911.

Ninth District.

M. G. Hanscome: March 11, 1870, to January 1, 1877.
E. St. Julien Cox: January 1, 1877, to March 22, 1882.
H. D. Baldwin: April 4, 1882, to January 3, 1883.
B. F. Webber: January 3, 1883, to November 15, 1905.
I. M. Olsen: November 15, 1905, to January, 1913.

Tenth District.

Sherman Page: January 1, 1873, to January 10, 1880.
John Q. Farmer: January 10, 1880, to January, 1893.
John Whystock: January, 1893, to November, 1898.
Nathan Kingsley: November 26, 1898, to January, 1913.

Eleventh District.

O. P. Stearns: April 23, 1874, to January, 1894.
R. Reynolds: March 19, 1885, to January 4, 1887.
Ira B. Mills: March 18, 1887, to January, 1899.
J. D. Ensign: April 16, 1889, to January, 1903.
Charles L. Lewis: March 14, 1893, to September 1, 1895.
Samuel H. Moer: January, 1894, to January, 1900.
Page Morris: September 2, 1895, to September 1, 1896.
W. A. Grant: January 5, 1897, to January, 1909.
H. B. Dibbell: January, 1900, to January, 1912.

Twelfth District.

John H. Brown: March 13, 1875, to January, 1890.
Gorham Powers: January 31, 1890, to January, 1909.
G. E. Quale: April 30, 1897, to January, 1911.

Thirteenth District.

A. D. Perkins: March 17, 1885, to March 1, 1891.
P. E. Brown: February, 1891, to January, 1911.

Fourteenth District.

Ira B. Mills: March 8, 1887, to January, 1893.
Frank Ives: January, 1893, to January 3, 1890.
Wm. Watts: January 3, 1890, to January, 1900.
Andrew Gindeland: March 24, 1900, to January, 1911.

Fifteenth District.

C. B. Sleeper: March 10, 1887, to January 5, 1889.
Geo. W. Holland: January 5, 1889, to January 7, 1901.
W. S. McClenehan: January 7, 1901, to January, 1913.
Marshall A. Spooner: March 27, 1903, to January, 1911.

Sixteenth District.

Calvin L. Brown: March 10, 1887, to August 30, 1899.
F. J. Steidl: August 30, 1899, to January 7, 1901.
S. A. Flaherty: January 7, 1901, to January, 1913.

Seventeenth District.

Jas. N. Quinn: March 12, 1897, to January, 1911.

Eighteenth District.

Jos. C. Tarbox: May 5, 1897, to January 2, 1899.
A. E. Giddings: January 2, 1899, to January, 1911.

Nineteenth District.

Peter H. Stolberg: April 11, 1907, to January, 1909.

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